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IRELAND IN PAST TIMES;

AN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT,

ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL;

WITH

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

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Præterita compellunt nos futurorum rationem habere.

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A. D. 1612.

THE favourite object of James's policy thus succeeding, it is no wonder that with the dispositions he possessed, he regarded with high estimation his principal agent in the important work. With his usual liberality to those who had gained his favour, he vested Sir Arthur Chichester, his active and honourable lord deputy, with the territory of Innishowen, and it was but a just remuneration of the activity, vigilance, firmness, and caution which had marked the conduct of the viceroy in a country just emerging to some tranquillity and order, where disaffection yet brooded, and many still existing evils produced open and public discontent; for however successful had been the plan of reformation, it yet required long perseverance and unceasing attention to perfect. Indeed in the prosecution of the plan many former abuses were to be rectified, which bore hard upon individuals and caused great murmuring, but the principal subject of complaint was the penal laws against recusants.

The penalties, indeed, attached to those who refused to attend the reformed worship, or others to which recusants were exposed, were not made a subject of complaint, for they were so little exacted, that they could scarcely have been deemed a restraint. It was the legal disabilities

contracted by recusancy which were declaimed against with violence and acrimony. Taking the oath of supremacy was a necessary qualification for the enjoyment of any office, service, or promotion. No one could be preferred to any degree in the university, without previously taking this oath. No peer, or subject of consequence who refused it, could be admitted to a degree of a privy counsellor, or take any part in the administration of government. Neither could magistrates, or justices of the peace legally act, unless they yielded to it, nor could recusant lawyers, a large and powerful class of the community, be regularly admitted to plead at the bar, much less be advanced to the station of judges, without taking this oath. At the period that this test was enjoined, viz. on the discovery of the gunpowder conspiracy, the king had interposed to modify its severity, and to render it one of the least offensive tests ever imposed by authority. It is simply a declaration of civil obedience to the prince, with an absolute renunciation of the *deposing* power of the pope. On the king's actual supremacy it was silent, and as it trenched on no part whatever of the Catholic faith, (except, indeed, that of renouncing the deposing power of the pontiff,) it was cheerfully taken by Blackwell, the arch-Roman Catholic priest in England, and through his influence by a considerable number, both of priests and laymen. James was well pleased that he had succeeded in his tolerating expedient, by which he thought to soften the hostility of his Catholic subjects, when, to his and their mortification, the sovereign pontiff rose fiercely in defence of his absolute prerogative of *making* and *unmaking* kings, and in a very earnest brieve, exhorted his faithful children to incur all tortures, and even the pains of martyrdom, rather than

compromise with their consciences on so tender a point, and reproaching those who had done so. We shall not enter into the controversy which this produced; suffice it to say, that the state policy of James, at one period of his reign, made him desirous greatly to relax the penal statutes against Catholics, and so plainly did this appear, that it created the suspicion and jealousy of the puritans, and there is reason to think, had it not been for the energy and spirit of the latter, the ancient religion would have upreared its gigantic form with new strength and vigour. It was in the spirit of this indulgence on the part of James, that the laws regarding recusancy in Ireland were more especially greatly relaxed in the execution, and numbers of magistrates, justices of the peace, and lawyers, were never even required to take the oath, except on some very extraordinary occasions of insolence, or defiance of government.

But minds clouded by passion and prejudice are difficult to manage: though enjoying the privileges of this indulgence, the spirit of the old English race, and the pride of the Irish, equally disdained to owe those advantages to a precarious connivance, which they believed they might claim as their right.

The lords and principal inhabitants of the pale had ever loudly complained of the neglect and contempt of the government under which they lived, and their indignation now arose very high at those additional disqualifications which barred every access to offices of trust and honour.

It has been most justly observed, that when the religious principles of men expose them to great disadvantages in the society of which they form a part, they are particularly bound to investigate and strictly examine those principles, lest they sacrifice the interests of themselves and

their posterity to an illusion; and more especially to ascertain that no spirit of party be mistaken for the principle for which they contend. To this investigation and self-examination the very genius of Catholicism is adverse, the mind being reduced by its dogmas and discipline to a state of indolence and acquiescence, most favourable to a pertinacity of error, while a desertion of the communion is attended with such consequences of disgrace and terror, as few minds have the vigour to resist, or the courage to meet. At the period we now allude to, the Catholics of Ireland, united in prejudices, opinions, and interests, formed a numerous party, perhaps the more dangerous and formidable, as they seemed not prompt to break out in the ebullition of rebellion, without a rational or concerted scheme; but brooding over their real and imagined wrongs, practised in secret against that administration, towards which they outwardly bore themselves with professions of zealous and devoted loyalty. Thus the friends of government were completely beguiled, and insensible of the danger which was inclosing them.

It is a truth we think cannot be controverted, that unless the hearts of men are fully imbued with the genuine spirit of Christianity, or they have, on the contrary, arrived at a perfect indifference to religion otherwise than as a political engine, that a difference in theological opinions will necessarily lead to prejudice and aversion, should they be brought into the arena of controversy or debate. When a man steps forward as the advocate for what he deems the truth, he encounters, perhaps, scorn and opposition in its defence; in proportion to the resistance, his self-love rises in degree, and he is too apt to feel exalted in his own estimation, and hence the feelings of con-

tempt and aversion are insensibly engendered in his bosom against those who have dared to impugn his opinions, or to call in question the results of his judgment.

In the opening of the seventeenth century, many such sentiments were awakened into being, sects and systems of religion were subjects of importance, and in settling the superiority of this or that form, in examining the justness of this or that doctrine, the spirit of religion as an operative principle on the heart and tongue, was in a great degree lost. The reformed looked with abhorrence on the partizans of idolatry, the Romanists with equal rancour and virulence inveighed against heresy and apostacy. The consequences of these bitter religious dissensions could not but be seriously apprehended by those who were to govern such discordant elements; and in order to avert the rising storm, so that the incipient political tranquillity which had begun to show its effects in the country might not be destroyed, it was deemed necessary by the constituted authorities to convene a parliament in Ireland. A period of twenty-seven years, passed in tumult and distraction, had elapsed, since a parliament had been held in the kingdom, and, of course, the important changes which had taken place in that long interval rendered the calling of a legislative assembly of high importance, and a necessary measure. Publication was therefore made of the royal intention to form such an assembly, and the subjects were invited to exhibit their grievances, and to consider of provisions for the public welfare. This measure, however, although so politically called for, awakened the fears of the numerous party of recusants. A thousand conjectures were formed as to the motives which had

urged the government to the design, and their jealousy was rendered the greater, as they were not admitted to any communication with the governing powers. Nor were these fears and jealousies unnatural. A number of new boroughs, many of them too poor to afford wages to their representatives, must necessarily be entirely influenced by government, and, of course, its creatures and immediate dependents would be returned.

Such an accession of power, so easily calculated, could not fail to encourage the administration to act without check or reserve, and to indulge to the utmost its prejudices, passions, and resentments. It was therefore natural for those known to be inimical to the government, to dread additional severities against those who persisted in their adherence to the Romish communion, and if further penal statutes were not enacted against them, to expect that those would be revived and enforced, which had in a great degree become a dead letter. It was not, however, the genius of the party knowing its own strength and popularity, and conscious of its power, to await the event in submission and despondency. On the first declaration, therefore, of the royal intentions to call a parliament in Ireland, six noblemen of distinguished consequence in the pale, addressed a letter to the king, in which they plainly and boldly express their apprehensions from a design of convening a parliament, without the laws therein to be enacted being vouchsafed to be made known to them, and others of the nobility. Intimating the insignificance of the new boroughs, and the corruptions and abuses which must thence ensue, if they were suffered to have influence in the purposed assembly, and further assuring the king, that if "he shall be

pleased to repeal the penal laws against the Catholics, he shall settle their minds in a firm and faithful subjection." The bold and fearless language of this remonstrance did not suit the royal ears of James, accustomed as they were to that of adulation and acquiescence; and although the complaints which it breathed were qualified by that strain of compliment known to be acceptable to the individual addressed, it was pronounced by James rash and insolent, and its requisitions were not deemed worthy of attention. The recusants, therefore, took their measures accordingly.

In the meanwhile the writs were issued, and every effort was made for strengthening the government party, and the recusants were indefatigable in forming theirs. Agents were sent from the pale into every province to support the elections of their friends, and to intreat the interest of the wealthy. The clergy preached the endangered cause of religion, and denounced their anathemas on those who should presume to vote against the friends of the holy Romish church. They went still further with the vulgar and ignorant, by assuring them that their favourite chieftain and champion, Tirowen, was preparing to invade the kingdom, and that there was no doubt if they stood firm to the faith, it would finally prevail over the heretics. In short, all the devices of policy and faction were employed, and with such manifest success, that most of the privy counsellors were rejected as knights of shires, for the most factious and turbulent lawyers, their competitors. Exulting in their success, and well aware of the influence of pomp and pageantry upon the popular feeling, the principals of the recusant party made their public entry into Dublin, with every circumstance of

splendour and magnificence. Bands of armed followers attended them, equally indicating their resolution of resistance, and their fear of being opposed. They objected to the castle of Dublin as the seat of session, under the plea that they were in danger of perishing by an explosion of gunpowder, and where the lord deputy's guard surrounding the house of parliament, could not fail to controul the freedom of debate. The clamour ran the higher, as the recusants had now the mortification to find themselves mistaken in their numbers. The returned members, and no others, were admitted, and directed to enter without arms. After the usual address from the throne, they were commanded to elect their speaker. The competitors for this office were Sir John Davis, the Irish attorney-general, recommended by the king, and Sir John Everard, a recusant of respectability, who had been justice of the King's Bench, but resigned on objecting to take the oaths, and had been granted a pension. But the party who had to give their suffrages in his favour contended, that the right of electing should first be ascertained, and they called in question the legality of the returns of many of the members. On the other side, it was urged that the speaker must first be chosen, committees then be formed, and the questioned elections examined and decided. A scene of violence and disorder ensued, which must ever reflect disgrace on the Irish parliament of 1613; the detail would be tedious and unnecessary; but the violence, the seditious menaces and exultation of the recusant party were so great, their open declarations of resistance, their agitations and cabals, their numerous followers, the popular clamour in favour of their cause so loud, that it was justly alarming to the state, destitute of any protecting

force, except an inconsiderable body of foot, and two hundred cavalry.

Every thing bore the appearance of a rising insurrection in the capital. The lord deputy however continued firm and moderate. By proclamation he commanded, by notices he separately summoned the seceding lords to attend their duty, he even remonstrated and in some degree conceded, and when he found every effort unavailable to allay the ferment, without resorting to any severity, he prorogued the parliament in which he could not persuade them to act, in order to give time for the violence of passion, and the bitterness of party spirit on each side to subside and soften. But Chichester like his royal master had two violent parties to please, and this was as arduous a task as to reconcile them. The conduct which he had pursued though in strict consistency with his accustomed moderation and discretion, and evidently in this instance the dictate of wise policy, was yet highly displeasing to the Puritans. Recollecting, with feelings not exempted from envy, the indulgence shewn to several rebels in the distribution of the Ulster lands, and the general lenity shewn towards the recusants, they condemned Chichester for that which formed his highest praise, his perseverance in a system of moderation, and now openly declared their conviction that he was utterly incapable of governing an unruly people, not daring to exercise his authority with the necessary vigour. These complaints and discontents reached even the privy council. It was alleged that on the accession of James, the enemies of the crown were so weak, that by a due execution of the laws the people might have been with ease reduced to any conformity. But by imprudent and unmerited favour shewn towards old rebels, by allowing their

meetings, by relaxing the authority of law, and other temporising courses, encouragement and opportunity had been given to the old Irish to correspond with foreign traitors, to harbour priests and Jesuits, by whom they were rendered obstinate and desperate, to attempt any wickedness and to resume their ancient tyrannical authority over their inferiors. The present strength and confidence of the popish party, their insolence, and the danger to be apprehended from their sedition was attributed to this injudicious indulgence and weakness of the chief governor. Aware of the lenient and moderate dispositions of his royal master, Chichester felt little alarm at these discontents of the puritan party. He therefore continued the same pacific measures, while the party in opposition were indefatigable in support of their cause. Immediately on their secession the recusant lords and commoners of the pale, dispatched letters to the king and English council with a repetition of their grievances, complaining of the corrupt return of the new boroughs, the transactions respecting the speaker, &c. and praying to be heard by their agents, renouncing the royal favour, should they fail in any point of proof respecting their allegations. Men thus engaged in a popular cause, powerfully influenced by their spiritual guides, encouraged by their adherents, feeling themselves degraded, were naturally determined, prompt and decisive. They lost no time in dispatching their agents to the English court to seek redress from the throne. All the zealous leaders of their party were employed in this political mission, and a liberal contribution was speedily made to defray the expenses. The lord deputy in vain endeavoured to prevent those measures. The agents departed, and Chichester had no alternative but to send over certain distin-

guished individuals to counteract the impression these popular agents might make. James received their complaints with temper, as they made the most solemn protestations that they were not influenced by any foreign power, and that so far from conspiring against his life they were ready to defend it with the zeal of faithful subjects. They were received with indulgence in several audiences, and were naturally inspired with confidence from the circumstance. Emboldened by the royal graciousness, they did not confine themselves to the recent transactions of parliament, but entered into many other particulars of mal-administration, beseeching the royal grace and equity to send commissioners to Ireland to investigate the particulars. To this request James assented, and the agents were so elevated that they were impatient of decision. A party of the agents attended the commissioners to Ireland; they were followed by Sir James Gough, who on his arrival spread the joyful intelligence, that he was commanded by the king to assure his Irish subjects that they should freely exercise the forms of their religion, provided they entertained no priests who preached the deposing power of the pope.

As the news of the king having sent a messenger to confer with the deputy speedily reached the capital, Chichester summoned the principal recusants to be witnesses of it. Great, therefore, was his astonishment at the nature of Gough's intelligence. The king had denounced a curse on himself and his posterity if ever he should grant a toleration to the Romanists, and had, moreover, on particular occasions, instructed his Irish ministers, to administer the oaths, and execute the penal laws. Chichester, therefore, was entirely warranted to doubt the assertions of Gough. He

publicly reproved him for the false statements, and seeing the exulting spirit of the recusants raised by it, in order to intimidate them, he by the advice of his council committed Gough to the castle, a close prisoner, until the royal will could be fully ascertained. This measure created no disturbance, because speedy redress was confidently expected. The deputy being summoned to England, they considered but as the prelude to his disgrace, and as the principal points of Irish administration were now to be transacted at the English court, the lords justices for the time being had not much difficulty in exercising their delegated authority, the discontented appearing confidently to anticipate the final success of their agents.

In the meanwhile, James having received from Chichester every information he required, the recusants were admitted to plead their own cause before the council, where it was repeatedly, deliberately, and patiently discussed. Of fourteen returns of which they complained as illegal, two only were found to be so; but in other particulars the king pronounced their allegations to be groundless. In a speech of some prolixity, of which James was so fond, he expressed plainly his displeasure of the frivolous causes of complaint brought before him, and reproved the turbulence and disorder of the *parliament recusants*, as he styled them in a tone of derision. He concluded his severe address to the Irish agents, by observing their conduct had been inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment, "but which," he added, "by reason of your submission I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament, where, by your obedience to the deputy and the state, and your future good behaviour you may redeem your by-past miscarriage, and

then you may deserve not only pardon, but favour and cherishing." Thus the contest ended; the complaints of the recusants were rejected, but the mortification was somewhat qualified with expressions of lenity and indulgence. Nothing remained, therefore, for them but to assemble peaceably in the parliament forthwith to be convened, after many prorogations. They could not, however, still the discontent they felt, for they were mortified to see the Protestant religion established above their own, while they possessed the power of resistance. Many devices were practised when the parliament did assemble, in order to obstruct the regular course of public business. But the cautious and conciliating conduct of Chichester, and the temper and moderation of Sir John Everard, to whom they paid particular deference, prevented any very serious consequences arising from the spirit of opposition and discontent that pervaded the recusant party. As the elections had been the principal subject of complaint, and were likely to produce the most violent discussion, they were referred to a committee formed of both parties, and after some inquiry it was resolved that the examination should be suspended for the present session, for the better expedition and furtherance of the public service. This evidence of the amicable disposition of the commons, was requited by moderation on the part of government. Whatever laws might have been projected, none were now proposed affecting the professors or teachers of the Catholic doctrines. Some lawyers had been prohibited pleading at the bar, on refusing the oath. The commons petitioned the lord deputy that they should be restored to their practice. The answer, though not explicit, was not unfavourable, and as a proof that all partialities were avoided, when the sub-

ject was resumed in the house, and one of the members observed that these lawyers were corrupt, and ought not to be allowed to corrupt others, he was called to the bar to substantiate his charge, and his explanation being unsatisfactory, he was committed to custody for his offence. Another instance of the care taken not unnecessarily to provoke the recusants, was the circumstance, that when Sir Oliver St. John moved a bill for keeping the fifth day of November as a religious anniversary, though it could not be instantly rejected, yet it was silently withdrawn.

Amity thus happily prevailing, the business of the session was conducted with less difficulty than had been anticipated. Many oppressive acts were repealed, which had degraded the native Irish, and given the English plea for oppression. All odious distinctions, of every kind, were done away, by the happy union of England, Scotland, and Ireland under one imperial crown, equally entitled to royal protection, and considered dutiful subjects of one monarch. An act of general pardon and oblivion was made in confirmation of the royal edict; and the proceedings of the parliament closed in granting the king a subsidy so liberal and so free, that James returned thanks in a letter to the lord deputy, by which he really did pay them that tribute of praise he had promised to their future good behaviour. "We now clearly perceive," he graciously observes, "that the difficult beginnings of our parliament there, were occasioned only by ignorance and mistakings, arising through the long disuse of parliaments there, and therefore we have cancelled the memory of them, and we are now so well pleased with this dutiful confirmation of theirs, that we do require you to assure them from us, that we hold our subjects of that kingdom in equal favour with

those of our other kingdoms, and that we will be as careful to provide for their prosperous and flourishing estate, as we can be for the safety of our own person." Such is the powerful influence of gold.

In a bill proving so acceptable to the monarch, the recusants took care not to lose their share of merit; they indignantly refuted the report, that any opposition had been intended or made against it. James, with his usual self-complacency, prided himself upon the address by which he had steered his difficult course through the agitations of Irish factions. Much had been effected to do away all invidious distinctions, and to unite in one body and one interest the population of Ireland. Yet some disabilities still existed, more mortifying to the pride of the old natives, whether English or Irish, than injurious or grievous, and the temper manifested by the commons at the opening of the assembly caused some apprehensions respecting the discussion of what might closely affect them; after the passing of the subsidy bill, these apprehensions were in some degree confirmed, and the parliament was abruptly dissolved.

While the assembly was thus employed in regulating the civil affairs of Ireland, a convocation of the clergy was directed to be held in Dublin, 1615. It appeared to the church of Ireland a proper assertion of its independence on that of England, to publish articles of its own, and it was for the purpose principally of framing a confession of faith that the convocation was held. James Usher, D. D. was at this period distinguished for learning and biblical knowledge, and to him the important work was entrusted.

The controversies which at this period engaged the attention, and occupied the pens of pious and

learned men, had naturally been investigated and studied by Usher, and in the examination of the writings of the foreign divines, he had imbibed a large portion of the Calvinistic opinions, and of course the bias of his mind strongly appeared in the profession of faith, which he had so large and primary a share in forming for the Irish church. It consisted of one hundred and four articles, in which were included the nine agreed on at Lambeth, 1595, which had been disapproved by Elizabeth and her successor James. The zeal of Usher was manifested in this elaborate formulary, by his concurrence with the French reformers, in pronouncing the pope to be Anti-Christ. It is well known that James disliked and discouraged the dark spirit of devotion among the puritans in their almost judaical observance of the sabbath; Usher, however, without any condescension to these sentiments of the king, declared in one article that the Lord's-day was to be *wholly* dedicated to the service of God. The profession was adopted by the convocation, and ratified by the lord deputy. Attempts were made to prejudice James against the compiler of these articles, as fraught with the sin most fatal in his reign to clerical preferment—that of puritanism, so repugnant to the king's principles; but James was prepossessed in his favour, by the "Continuation of Jewel's Apology for the Church of England," a learned work, which Usher had dedicated to James, some time antecedent to his compilation of the articles of faith. James, never remiss in his attention to reward what he deemed ecclesiastical merit, was so just to the piety and erudition of Usher, that, notwithstanding the Calvinistic bias of his opinions, he promoted him to the see of Meath.

The king, elevated by the general success of

his northern settlements, extended them to some parts which had hitherto served as safe retreats to the demi-barbarous natives. The grants of this new scheme of plantation were scarcely effected, when Chichester, without whose agency it hardly could have been accomplished, was created Baron of Belfast, recalled to England, and was succeeded by Sir Oliver St. John. [1616.] By the conduct of this governor in the recent parliament, he appeared to be actuated with peculiar zeal against the Romanists, and this disposition was now soon manifested, by his proceeding to a vigorous execution of the penal statutes.

A dangerous order of men, the popish regulars, who for the most part were educated in foreign seminaries, and who had resorted to Ireland with the most determined hatred towards the government, were the first objects of the vigilance of St. John. They were banished by proclamation, and although the people had been greatly oppressed by these priests, yet the measure was regarded as one of cruel persecution and rigour, and the clamour was loud against the governor. This turbulence was augmented, when the magistrates and officers of justice were peremptorily required to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. [1617.] The city of Waterford had chosen a succession of recusants as their chief magistrates, who all in their turn refused to take the oath, and as in other particulars also they evinced an aversion, or rather a determined opposition to conformity, a commission was now issued to seize the revenues and liberties of the city. This measure roused the general indignation of the Catholics, even in foreign countries. They made it a plea to inveigh against the general conduct of St. John. With severity and falsehood they charged him with cruel oppressions,

in exacting fines never imposed, and in crowding the prisons with wretched victims of the faith, when, in truth, no one suffered the restraint of a moment. But the measure which proved most prejudicial to the individual interest of St. John, and raised him the most efficient enemies, was an offence he gave to the leading members of the state respecting certain church lands. They had usurped these lands, and expected to keep possession by their influence and power; St. John was indignant at this mercenary corruption and departure from political integrity, he saw the miserable condition to which the clergy were reduced, and with the spirit of a true patriot and a just man, he determined to withstand these powerful usurpers. Men who could act so unjustly, were prepared to become the enemies of him who had the hardihood to expose them; accordingly they united with the popish party in reviling and maligning the fearless St. John. They carried their complaints even to the throne, praying that commissioners should be appointed to inspect the state of Ireland, and the irregularities of the government. Accordingly some individuals, who, from their spirited opposition in the house of commons, had offended James, were sent to Ireland for the purpose requested. Were merit, and reward and success, invariable cause and effects, St. John must have triumphed; but the machinations of his enemies prevailed; he was removed from the administration. But it would appear that the king was obliged to yield his judgment to the circumstances, for St. John suffered no disgrace in his estimation, on the contrary, he soon after created the removed governor, Viscount Grandison, of Ireland, Baron Trogore, of Highworth in England, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and privy counsellor of both kingdoms.

The recusants naturally triumphed in the removal of a governor who appeared so determined to oppose them; they pretended that his recall was in consequence of his severity towards them, and encouraged their party to expect yet further and less equivocal manifestations of the royal grace and favour. With this real or affected impression, they proceeded in the most open and undisguised manner to erect abbies, seizing churches for their own worship, and other acts, which gave just alarm to the reformed clergy.

1622. Lord Falkland had been nominated governor, and Usher, the most distinguished of the Protestant prelates, and whose sentiments were received with reverence, was appointed to preach before the lord deputy on his arrival. Usher judiciously thought this a fair opportunity of displaying his zeal against the Romanists, and of recommending such restraints as might keep them within the bounds of a just reserve, or at least keep them from public insolence. The recusants were highly exasperated at this unpopular and plain doctrine. From the words of the prelate's text, "He beareth not the sword in vain," occasion was taken to exclaim loudly against him, as a cruel and sanguinary persecutor, who pleaded for the extirpation of those who did not conform to the heretical religion established. Such was the universal clamour raised by the artful commentaries of the recusants upon this text, that Usher absolutely found it necessary, in order to appease the public irritation, to preach an explanatory discourse, in which he declared the equity and lenity of his intentions. The abilities of Usher were highly useful to government in this period of religious contest and animosity. When magistrates and others were cited to the council-chamber for recusancy, he enforced the nature

and the lawfulness of the oath of supremacy, with a powerful and manly eloquence. But reason and argument can have little effect against the obstinate prepossessions of party. "There is," says an eminent writer, speaking of party spirit, "a kind of magic circle traced round the subject on which their confederacy turns, which the whole party beats round, and no one can cross, whether it be that by multiplying their arguments they are afraid of presenting to their antagonists a greater number of points of attack, or whether it be that in all men passion is more distinguished by its sameness than by its extent, more by force than variety. Placed at the extremity of an idea, like soldiers at their post, you can never prevail upon them to seek another point of view in the question, and adhering to some principle, as to their chiefs, and to certain opinions, as to oaths, they would consider it as an attempt to seduce them into treason, were you to propose to them to examine, to investigate some new idea, to combine some new considerations."

That the party which was conscious of its number, power, and consequence at this time in Ireland, possessed all this pertinacity, was continually demonstrated, and while we mark its violence and opposition, candour and truth equally demand that we should cursorily advert to the existing causes and reasons of discontent. That no human plans can be brought to bear generally for the public good, without involving in their accomplishment much individual injury none can deny, hence the civilizing measures of James, and his extensive designs of plantation in Ireland, though honourable in motive, and successful in accomplishment, were, in many instances, the means of injuring claims tenaciously held by the native Irish; and when he recurred to the con-

cessions made to Henry II., to invalidate titles derived from the possession of some ages, it was little understood by those unacquainted with the refinements of law, and consequently failed in removing from the minds of the sufferers the severity which appropriated what they considered as their ancient property, nor could the concessions and the added privileges conferred, reconcile the measure to those who thought too superficially, clearly to understand the remote advantages to be derived from present sacrifice. An enlightened and humane policy also may form a just and wise plan of civilization, but it is impossible to ensure that the fair theory shall be brought into practice with the same spirit; neglect, oppression, interest, will interpose their corrupting influence, and the agents of patriotic plans may be actuated by those unworthy motives which no human vigilance can prevent, or human sagacity foresee.

Thus were the good intentions of James in many instances defeated, and fraud, violence, and oppression, marked the conduct of too many of the agents necessarily employed to realize them. Neither the actors nor the objects of such grievances were confined to one religion, the most zealous in the service of government, and the most peaceable conformists were involved in the ravages of avarice and rapine, without distinction of principles or possessions. It is evident that a long train of evils must follow from the indulgence of the avaricious and selfish principles of these agents in a country remote from the seat of government, and in an age of project and adventure, inviting the needy, but not always virtuous, to seek their fortune in Ireland. In fact, proofs are by no means wanting of most iniquitous practices, of hardened cruelty, of perjury, and subornation, employed to despoil the unoffending and fair pro-

prietor of his inheritance, upon the plea of invalid title. Other grievances of inferior nature were urged and industriously aggravated by the discontented, urging them to examine the conduct of administration with severity. Under such circumstances it is obvious that a respectable military establishment was requisite. At the period of James's accession, the force amounted to twenty thousand men, but the reduction of the kingdom and his necessities had diminished it almost to nothing, and what remained, were in utter want of proper discipline, ill paid, ill clothed; and instead of being retained in a body, were dispersed in small parties through the estates of their officers where they cultivated the lands and even were employed in the menial offices of the household. In short, the forces, poor, mutinous and disordered, could hardly be entitled to the name of a military establishment; and in fact, had not the general good policy of the settlements been felt by the native Irish, so as to tranquillize their turbulent spirits, such a force would have been easily annihilated, and the English power defied. It is pleasing to remark, that notwithstanding the grievances we have hinted at, as attaching to the plantations, yet the general good effects of the king's arrangements were become abundantly manifest. Lands formerly waste were cultivated and improved, the commodities of the country increased, towns and villages were built, commerce was carried on with spirit, so that the customs began to afford some revenue to the crown, till then unknown. And it followed of course in proportion as industry and civility advanced, the spirit of insurrection was quieted and controuled. Still there remained, as there must in every human institution, circumstances and occasions requiring vigour, circumspection, and activity on

the part of government. In the country, particularly in the remoter provinces, were many young, active, high spirited men, destitute of employment and ready to join in any enterprise.

James and his council saw the propriety of ridding the country of these turbulent individuals, and therefore gave licence to enlist them for foreign service. The immediate danger of embodying such men, and training them to arms, appears to have been forgotten in the sense of their danger as mere idlers. The officers who were to raise and conduct these daring youths to the continent were mostly the sons or the retainers of the old rebels, devoted to the heir of Tirowen, men who had been bred abroad in extravagant ideas of the ancient grandeur of their families, and consequently of bitter enmity against the English power which had exiled them, and enjoyed the inheritance of their fathers. The influx of these irritated and lofty spirits was attended by consequences which might have been foreseen. They protracted the period of their stay, ranged through the country, curiously examined into its polity, marked its weak points, renewed their old friendships, awakened the interests of their family connexions, practised with the discontented, flattered and confirmed their prejudices, and enticed away the youth to be conveyed abroad for education. Having thus secretly added fuel to the smothered flame, and laid the train ready for future explosion, by slow degrees the transportation of the levies was effected, and the government was freed from an immediate danger which the inefficiency of its military force rendered justly alarming. It could not but be mortifying to Lord Falkland to be appointed to a government unsupported with an adequate force to awe its enemies, and destitute of necessary resources.

His remonstrances to government were repeated and strong, he particularly urged the danger to be apprehended from the recusants, and the consequences of their mutual union and connexion with Rome, as it was discovered that an ecclesiastical hierarchy, with a regular subordination of orders, offices, and persons was established throughout the kingdom by the papal power, that their jurisdiction was executed with as much regularity, and their decrees executed with as full authority as if the pope was in actual possession of the realm. The force and the propriety of Falkland's reasons were fully admitted, but the exchequer of James was empty, and even his credit exhausted. Numberless schemes to raise money were suggested, but before any of them could be brought to bear, James ended his life and reign, marked by many errors of judgment, but certainly honourably free from the vices of the will. The care of providing for the security of Ireland devolved in consequence upon Charles his successor, together with many other perplexities attendant on the commencement of his reign.

1625. On the accession of Charles, the discontented among the Irish regarded the circumstances of the period peculiarly favourable to their views. Involved in foreign war, and embarrassed by domestic faction, the situation of the unfortunate Charles was soon obviously critical, and opened to the disaffected many paths through which they might pursue their artful and ambitious designs. The recusants of Ireland were not backward in availing themselves of the circumstances, they soon manifested a determination to try their strength by showing a contempt of the penal statutes, in refusing all respect to the government of Lord Falkland, while Rome assiduously practised

every art to encourage and inflame them. A bull of Urban the eighth, exhorted them rather to lose their lives than to take the pestilent oath of supremacy, whereby the sceptre of the Catholic church was wrested from the vicar of God Almighty, and much is it to be regretted that upon ignorance and superstition, this senseless blasphemy had its intended effect.

The Irish council, which had been composed of the new English, fraught with the puritanic spirit, were alarmed at this turbulence, which greatly augmented their horror and fears of popery. The danger to be apprehended was strongly represented to the king, who determined to augment the Irish forces; but with every attention to economy in the measure, unassisted by parliament, the expenses could not be met; and Charles had recourse to the dangerous alternative of prerogative. In consequence of which, the army was ordered to be quartered on the different counties and towns of Ireland, who were to maintain the troops in turn for three months at a time. To reconcile the people to this unpopular measure, letters were addressed by the lord deputy to the several communities recommending a cheerful submission, with promise of future royal graces, which should amply repay present extraordinary expenses. These hopes induced a more cheerful acquiescence than might have been expected to a burden so unusual.

The popish party were not more zealous for the interests of their religion, than to extricate themselves from the disadvantages and mortifications of the penal statutes. And like their brethren of England, sought to recommend themselves to the king by supporting unconstitutional measures. In consequence of the desire each party had for a redress of their real or fancied grievances, a grand

meeting of the nobility and gentry, of which the largest portion were Romanists, assembled at the castle, Dublin, offering large contributions to purchase security to their lands, and a suspension of the penal statutes. The lord deputy, so far from discouraging their overtures, advised them to send agents to England to lay before the throne their several complaints. The vague hope of indulgence which this advice implied, was sufficient to elevate the spirits of the popish party beyond reason, which was testified by instances of offensive triumph, as if the desired toleration were already granted. This exultation provoked the Protestant party, leading them to infer that greater concessions had been made by the government than were acknowledged. The degree of aversion may be easily imagined, when it is stated that many of the new plantations had been supplied with teachers from Scotland, rigid puritans. Their churches were formed upon the presbyterian model in all its simplicity, and their members were nothing inferior to their brethren in Scotland, in gloom of disposition and in hatred to every other mode of religion, more especially the Catholic. Many of these ministers had, in conformity to the principles they held, refused episcopal ordination. The circumstances under which James peopled his forfeited lands, rendered a temporising spirit in religious affairs that of good present policy, hence, several bishops, to quiet the scruples of the Scotch ministers, had, with the consent of Usher, their learned metropolitan, ordained them to the ministry without strictly adhering to the established form. In consequence of this indulgence, many of these Scottish teachers enjoyed churches and tythes, without using the liturgy, and gained much respect and authority by their diligence and zeal in their ministry.

When, therefore, the proposal of contributions was made for the repeal of the penal statutes, these sturdy puritans exclaimed loudly against the horrid design of selling the truth, and establishing idolatry for a price. Usher, then archbishop of Armagh, acted with a wisdom and zeal befitting his high station in the Irish church, in this time of peril and offence. He assembled several prelates to deliberate upon the threatened danger, and to bear their testimony against any concession which might be meditated by the state towards the Catholics. The conference was closed by the unanimous subscription of the prelates to a protestation entitled "The judgment of diverse of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, concerning toleration in religion." "The religion of the papists" says the protest "is superstitious and idolatrous, their faith and doctrine enormous and heretical, their church in respect to both, apostatical: To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine is a grievous sin, and that in two respects, for first it is to make ourselves accessary not only to their superstitions, idolatries and heresies, and in a word, to all the abominations of popery, but also, (which is a consequent of the former,) to the perdition of the seduced people which perish in the deluge of the Catholic apostacy. Secondly, to grant them a toleration in respect to any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people whom Christ hath redeemed with his blood. And as it is a great sin, so it is a matter of most dangerous consequence, the consideration whereof we commit to the wise and judicious, beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in authority zealous of God's glory, and of

the advancement of true religion, zealous, resolute, and courageous against all popery, superstition and idolatry." We are informed by the biographer of Usher, that this protestation had a considerable effect in retarding a project, the success of which was necessary to the king's affairs, and that Lord Falkland therefore requested the primate, knowing how greatly he was esteemed by both parties, to urge them to grant an aid without any previous conditions. Usher consented, and was possibly the readier to do so, in order to remove every suspicion of the purity of his conduct, or of his affection to the service of his royal master. His speech on this occasion was energetic, insinuating and pathetic, and so acceptable to the state, that it was immediately transmitted to the court of England. With a similar abhorrence of popery, and indignation at the proposal of compromising religion for lucre, as marked the protestation of the prelates, did the clergy from the pulpits express their dissatisfaction. The publicity with which the popish party presumed to exercise their rites, greatly offended and annoyed the protestants who represented it in a forcible manner to the government in England. It became ever an article of parliamentary remonstrance, that the government of Ireland secretly indulged the popish religion, that it was publicly professed throughout Ireland, and that monasteries and nunneries were everywhere newly erected and fitted with votaries. In despite however of these remonstrances, suspicions, and complaints, the Irish agents suspended not their solicitations to Charles, nor were their overtures unfavourably received. In return for the graces which they thus solicited they made the offer of a voluntary contribution of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to be paid in three years, by

the way of three subsidies, each amounting to forty thousand pounds, and each of these to be equally divided into quarterly payments. The bounty was accepted, the graces conferred, and transmitted by way of instruction to the lord deputy and council. [1628.] Although these graces allowed indulgence to recusants almost amounting to a toleration, they were generally reasonable and equitable, calculated for the redress of those grievances affecting the people generally, and had a tendency to promote peace and tranquillity. By them it was provided for the better discharge of the pastoral care, that pluralities of benefices should not be bestowed on unqualified persons, that incumbents should be compelled to preach, or keep sufficient curates, that commissions should be issued for enquiring into endowed vicarages possessed by lay impropriators, and to reform the abuse, and that the incumbents of extensive rectories should be enjoined to maintain preaching ministers in chapels of ease.

As the recusants had been loud in their complaints against the demands of the established clergy, it was provided that all unlawful exactions taken by the clergy, be reformed and regulated. The rigour with which their demands had been enforced may be inferred from the annexed injunction to this article. "That no extraordinary warrants of assistance touching clandestine marriages, christenings, or burials, or any contumacies pretended against ecclesiastical jurisdiction are to be issued, or executed by any chief governor, nor are the clergy to be permitted to keep any *private prisons* of their own for these causes; but delinquents in that kind are henceforth to be committed to the king's public gaols, and by the king's officers."

Some circumstances of insincerity in bringing

these concessions into salutary action, certainly appear in the subsequent conduct of the king and his ministers, upon which it is unnecessary here to comment. Yet as the people relied on the royal promise that his graces should be confirmed by parliamentary sanction, those concessions were received with general satisfaction. They seemed to complete the scheme of reformation commenced and pursued by James, and favourably to open to succeeding legislators the facility of correcting any accidental abuses which elapse of time might create, as well as to lay the foundation of those improvements which the fluctuating nature of human manners and human wants might suggest, at once to promote the prosperity of the people and the honour and interests of the crown.

But although the animosity of the Irish against the English, thus deprived of any plea of complaint, seemed for a time to be extinguished, yet the spirit of faction did but slumber. Both in regard to religion and property, the principles of this deceitful faction stimulated to revolt. It was little to them, that indulgence had been granted to their creed, so long as the churches and ecclesiastical revenues were kept from the priests, and they were compelled to endure the intercourse of profane heretics. Thus discontented and restless they were vigilant in discovering any circumstance by which they might retard any cordial reconciliation between the English and the Irish nations.

The contribution which had purchased the royal graces had been universal among the people, but the recusants assumed the whole merit. They openly professed the most zealous loyalty, but secretly exulted in the persuasion of their own strength, and that the army, and of conse-

quence the authority of the crown in Ireland, could not be maintained independent of their aid.

The rectitude and gentleness of Lord Falkland little qualified him for the arduous task of governing a people in the factious temper then prevailing, or to awe the numerous body of recusants, relying on their own merits, and continually stimulated by their ecclesiastics to the most provoking excesses. Again in the full parade of their splendid ritual they publicly celebrated their religious worship. Churches were seized for their service, new friaries and nunneries were erected, their ecclesiastical jurisdiction severely executed, and even in Dublin an academical body was formed for the education of youth, superintended by an eminent Romish ecclesiastic. The clergy by whose influence all was directed, were daily augmented in number, by arrivals from foreign seminaries where they had not only imbibed the firmest opinions of the papal supreme authority, but the most inveterate prejudices against England and Englishmen. Bound by a solemn oath to defend the papacy against an opposing world, to labour for the augmentation of its power and privileges, to execute its mandates, to persecute heretics, their whole body, seculars and regulars, acted in dangerous concert under the direction of the pope, and subject to the orders of the congregation de propaganda fide, then recently erected at Rome.* Many of these

* This famous congregation for the propagation of the faith was begun by Gregory the fifteenth, who by the advice of his confessor Narri, founded it at Rome, in 1622, and enriched it with ample revenues. This congregation consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests, one monk, and a secretary. It is intended to propagate and maintain the religion of Rome in all parts of the world. Its riches and provisions were so prodigiously augmented by the munificence of Urban the eighth, and the liberality of an incredible number of do-

priests, by their education in the seminaries of Spain, were peculiarly devoted to the interests

nors, that its funds are to this day adequate to the most extensive and magnificent undertakings. The enterprises of this congregation are unproportionate to the magnitude of its means. By it, a vast number of missionaries are sent to the remotest parts of the world, books of various kinds published to facilitate the study of foreign languages, the sacred writings and pious productions sent to the most distant parts of the globe, and exhibited to each nation and country in their own language and characters. Seminaries are founded for the sustenance and education of a prodigious number of young men set apart for the foreign missions, houses are erected for the instruction and support of the pagan youths that are annually sent from abroad to Rome, that they may return from thence to their respective countries and become the instructors of their blinded countrymen, not to mention the numerous charitable establishments designed for the relief and support of those, who have suffered banishment, or been involved in other calamities on account of their steadfast attachment to the religion of Rome, and their zeal for promoting the glory of the pontiff. Such are the arduous and complicated plans, with which this congregation is charged, but these though the principal are far from being the only objects of its attention. Its views are vast and its acts almost incredible. Its members hold their assemblies in a splendid palace, whose delightful situation adds a singular lustre to its beauty and grandeur. Bernini, that being of versatile talent was the architect. To this famous establishment, another less magnificent but highly useful was added 1627, by Urban the eighth, under the denomination of a college or seminary for the propagation of the faith. It is set apart for the instruction and education of those designed for foreign missions. They are here brought up with the greatest care in the knowledge of all the languages and sciences that are necessary to prepare them for disseminating the gospel among distant nations. This excellent foundation owes its origin to the zeal and munificence of John Baptist Villes, a Spanish nobleman who resided at the court of Rome, and who began by presenting to the pontiff all his ample possessions together with his mansion which was a noble and beautiful structure, for this pious and useful purpose. His liberality excited a spirit of emulation, and is followed up with zeal to the present day. The same spirit reached France and several similar foundations were introduced there.

of that power, and naturally had been habituated to consider the insurrections of the old Irish, in the reign of Elizabeth, as laudable and generous efforts of patriotism, while they were taught to detest that power which had quelled this noble resisting spirit, and established a dominion on the ruins of the ancient dignity and pre-eminence of their countrymen. How much is it to be lamented that such noble germs of patriotic feeling should too frequently be sunned into poisonous plants, bearing the bitter fruits of anarchy and rebellion, by the self interested, the mercenary and the fanatical. Alas! Ireland was soon to exemplify this melancholy truth!

We have seen that the protestants regarded with equal rancour the idolatrous papists. Many of the lower orders of these clergy were poor and of base character, so as to justify the sarcastic observation of an Irishman, that "the king's priests were as bad as those of the pope." Yet were the great majority of far different description, men to whom the purity of their faith was an object of especial moment, these united with the prelates and some officers of state, holding the same sentiments, remonstrated with the lord deputy upon the increasing presumption and turbulence of the recusants.

The disposition of Lord Falkland, and his instructions from England were in perfect agreement to use the gentlest measures in every thing relating to religious controversy. Urged, however by his council, and the general remonstrances of the clergy, he issued a proclamation charging and commanding the recusants to forbear the exercise of their popish rites and ceremonies. This proclamation produced no effect whatever, things continued in the same state, or rather discontent and turbulence were increased by the recusants,

pleading many grievances, which, where a spirit of discontent prevails, will ever be found in the best constituted governments. Where this is the case, encroachment still rises in proportion to concession. The clamour rose so high that the government condescended to a sort of compromise accepting a quarterly payment of five instead of ten thousand pounds, until the whole voluntary subsidy should be discharged. In this difficult situation, Falkland knew not how best to act, he was maligned at the court of England, and his actions falsely interpreted. The reluctance of the recusants to fulfil their engagements, made Charles and his ministers the more ready to listen to insinuations respecting the administration of the lord deputy, and Falkland was finally recalled. The administration was for the present intrusted to two lords justices, united by friendship and affinity, and of considerable consequence in Ireland, Adam Loftus, Viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and Richard, earl of Cork, lord high treasurer. The first of these noblemen derived his fortune and station from the activity and prudence of Loftus the archbishop of Dublin in the time of Elizabeth, and who appears to have enjoyed her particular favour. The earl of Cork possessed the first degree of consequence in the kingdom, both from his property and alliances. This nobleman possessed a nobility of spirit suited to his exalted rank, not that species of despicable family pride that reposes fastidiously on its adventitious advantages, regarding with contempt those it considers as its inferiors, but sedulous to use the power and advantages which wealth, station, and abilities gave him in a liberal and generous solicitude for those dependent on his will, or governed by his power. On his own estates he was the protecting father of a numerous well regulated body

of English protestants, and the effects of his generous care and judicious management were seen in the industry, affluence, and urbanity of his tenants and dependents. The same principles guided his conduct when called to the helm of government. The errors of popery were offensive to the religious principles of the enlightened Earl of Cork, one of the many worthies bearing the name of Boyle, the prototype of that nobility which distinguished the members of his family. The earl saw that these errors, united as they were in his country with that demi-barbarism which prevailed, was totally repugnant to every plan of improvement his enlightened policy and intelligent philanthropy might form. He therefore agreed with his colleague no longer to use temporising measures with the recusants, but vested as they were with authority, to bring it vigorously into action. Without, therefore, previously consulting the English ministry, or waiting instructions from the king, they at once threatened all absentees from the established worship of the realm with the penalties of the statute enacted in the second of Elizabeth. They were however soon informed, that this severity was not pleasing to the king, nor deemed consistent with his present interests in Ireland. The triumph this gave the recusants may be well imagined, and was manifested in a manner which could not but arouse the indignation of the government they insulted.

In one of the most frequented parts of Dublin, a fraternity of Carmelites appeared in the habit of their order, and there celebrated their religious rites. Indignant at this contempt of all authority, the archbishop of the diocese, and the chief magistrate of the city led a party of the army to their place of worship, and attempted to disperse the assembly. The friars and the congregation

as might have been foreseen, repelled the injudicious attack by force, and obliged the assailants to seek their safety in a precipitate flight. These incidents forcibly prove how difficult and how rare it is to temper zeal with moderation, and how easy it is for the indignant emotions of a worthy heart, to overpower the cool arguments of reason. The earl of Cork possessing as he did such an enlarged mind, whose general conduct proved that he could at a single glance perceive the moral order of things, yet lost sight of that caution and moderation which it must ever be necessary to observe when we have to deal with prejudices and opinions, or any operations of the mind. Even that system of unity which is certainly most conducive to the happiness of a state, ceases to be good, if in order to establish it violence is resorted to. A government must never aim at any end by unjust means, let it be ever so desirable, and this rule is we think equally adapted to the opinions as well as the rights of men. The incidents which have drawn from us these reflections were represented in England in a manner that seemed to reproach the lenity that had encouraged the recusants. It was therefore deemed unsafe and impolitic longer to connive at such proceedings. By an order of the English council fifteen religious houses were seized for the king's use, and the popish college erected in Dublin was assigned to the University, who for the present, converted it into a protestant seminary.

But the suppression of popish superstition was an inferior object of concern to the English cabinet, to that of providing for the king's necessities. The contributions were not forthcoming; Charles therefore altered his language to his Irish subjects; he threatened that if the subsidy was not cheerfully and thankfully continued, that his

graces should be *streightened;* that the recusant fines should be universally and strictly levied, directing that the presentments necessary for this purpose should be made, at the same time intimating that he acted in conformity to the advice of the lords justices. Charles, in order to relieve himself from the embarrassment of his Irish affairs, had appointed Sir Thomas Wentworth to the government, who was held in the highest esteem and confidence by him as a statesman, but at the period of his threatened severity, Wentworth had not assumed the government. The justices were fearful of entering the king's letter in the council books, from a conviction that its perusal would occasion some dangerous result. Wentworth was highly indignant at this hesitation of duty, insinuating that it was only to embarrass the king that objections were raised. He employed secret agents to prevail on the recusants to offer a half-yearly subsidy, as the only means of suspending the execution of the penal statutes. After great altercation and delay, it was agreed that twenty thousand pounds should be added to the former contribution, to be paid in four equal quarterly assessments. Thus the immediate necessities of the state were supplied, and we may add, its weakness made fully known to those who were ready to take advantage of its declining power. Soon after this occurred, Wentworth passed into Ireland to assume the administration, Charles entertaining the most sanguine expectations that his vigour and abilities would effectually regulate and improve his Irish dominions. 1633. By his eminent talents and abilities, Wentworth, better known by his superior title of Strafford, merited all the confidence which his royal master reposed in him. His character was stately and austere, more calculated

to create awe and fear, than love and attachment; his fidelity to his sovereign was unshaken, but from some vacillations of conduct, his patriotism seems not to have been quite pure, but to have been susceptible of powerful impressions from private interest and ambition. These circumstances had created him implacable enemies among the popular party in England, and the evident partiality of the king confirmed this enmity. Their rancour followed him to Ireland, inducing the most vigilant attention to his conduct, and the greatest severity of judgment respecting his actions. But the character and the prejudices of Wentworth equally ill-fitted him for the high station which he occupied in Ireland. He regarded it as a conquered kingdom, in the strictest sense of the term, and with a narrowness of mind which appears truly extraordinary in an individual of his high rank in society, he deduced a principle as odious as it is absurd and unjust, that the subjects of such a country had forfeited the rights of men and citizens, and whatever they were *permitted* to enjoy, depended altogether on the royal grace. With these unjust ideas, it may readily be imagined, he treated men thus dependent on royal grace with a contempt unqualified, and even the most distinguished of Irish subjects were imperiously regarded by the haughty and severe viceroy. He assumed his government with his mind and affections fixed on one single object—the immediate interest of his royal master. Happily for Ireland, the service of the crown was intimately connected with, and depending upon the improvements of the realm. He assumed the government not only with general, but also many individual prejudices against several persons in Ireland, amongst these

was the Earl of Cork, who was powerful and popular.

The new lord deputy had been instructed to pay particular attention to the interests as well as the regulation of the established clergy, and this circumstance gave him an opportunity of gratifying his imperious spirit against that nobleman. The earl had possessed himself of lands which belonged to the church, and had erected a family monument in the cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, so untowardly situated, that it took up the place of what the prelate of Canterbury termed the great altar. Strafford had learned from Laud to regard with abhorrence such innovations, and the severest menaces were denounced against the earl's injustice and oppressive usurpation, aggravated by an act of such flagrant impiety.

The clergy of the puritanical spirit were no less obnoxious to the governor; amongst these were reckoned Usher of Armagh, and Bedel of Kilmore, both eminently distinguished for their piety and learning. Bedel in his simplicity, forgetting policy, had united with his diocese, in a petition to the late lords justices, representing the new contribution as irregularly obtained and oppressively levied. This was regarded by the governor as a presumptuous opposition to the king's service. Usher, more experienced, was more cautious; he as yet had given no offence, but lived in the quiet enjoyment of that consequence and reverence derived from his high character as well as station. But the bias of his principles determined Wentworth to form a balance against this popular prelate; he therefore was attended to his seat of government by Dr. Bramhal, whom he proposed to advance to a distinguished station in the Irish church. Bramhal

was eminent for his abilities and erudition, but his ideas, both of doctrine and discipline, were so consonant with those of Laud, that Cromwell afterwards styled him *the Canterbury of Ireland*.*

* In all ecclesiastical affairs, and in many civil, Laud had great influence over the king; indeed his character was of that dictating kind, that he was better qualified to fill the papal chair, than the primary of England in such critical times as those in which he lived. "He was virtuous," says our elegant historian, "if severity of manners, and abstinence from pleasure could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise; he was disinterested, but with unceasing industry he studied to exalt the priestly and prelatical character, which was his own. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion, and in the heat and indiscretion of his temper, he neglected the views of prudence, and the rules of courtesy. He was in this respect happy that all his enemies were also imagined by him the declared enemies of loyalty and true piety, and therefore the very exercise of his angry zeal became in his eyes meritorious and virtuous. Now we can calmly investigate the encroachments of one party, and the difficulties of the other, we shall however find much to applaud in the zeal of Laud, although we may condemn and regret his erroneous judgment in its application and exercise. The times, while they called for vigorous resistance to the growing faction, were altogether unfavourable to violent measures, or for the introduction of those ceremonies and observances which had been laid aside at the reformation." See Hume's England, vol. vi. p. 287, for several instances of the new ceremonies introduced by Laud.

Among the moral predictions we frequently meet with in history, we may rank that of James I., respecting the evils likely to be produced by the violence of Laud. In a conversation he had with Archbishop Williams, when James was hard pressed to promote Laud, he gave his reasons why he intended to keep him back from rule and authority; "because," he observed, "I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation, floating in his own brain, which endangers the steadfastness of that which is in good pass; I speak not at random, he hath made himself known to me to be such an one." When at length urged to prefer the prelate, James closed his prediction, by saying in his usual uncouth manner: "Then take him to you! but on my soul you will repent it."

Thus, with lively prepossessions, and highly excited passions, Wentworth assumed the reins of government, and speedily, by the contemptuous display of them, disgusted and offended those with whom he had to act. After a meeting, in which his arrogance was particularly mortifying, and in which nothing was effected, a second one was convened, in which the chancellor suggested that the king should assemble an Irish parliament, to deliberate upon the public affairs, advising in the meantime that the voluntary contribution should be continued another year. A parliament was in every point of view desirable, the council, therefore, were readily influenced by the hopes of one being called to renew the contribution so suggested. The grant and the petition were transmitted to the king, the whole body of the realm concurring in both.

A supply thus obtained for the immediate charges of his government, Wentworth quickly put the military establishment upon a respectable footing; the troops, by the gallantry of their appearance, struck an awe into the disorderly, while from their proper discipline, they protected the peaceable. But the assembling of a parliament was a measure dreaded by the king: "As for that hydra," says he to his lord deputy, in allusion to it, "take good heed, for you know that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious." The deputy, however, relying on his own address for managing a parliament, quieted the king's apprehensions by reminding him, that by the law of Poynings, no act could pass without his previous inspection and sanction. It was therefore resolved to yield to the wishes of the nation, and the whole affair was entrusted to the judgment of Wentworth. His great object was to obtain a liberal supply, and yet to evade the

confirmation of those graces of 1628, which present circumstances rendered inconsistent with the royal interests. Every thing in this delicate affair depended on the dexterous management of the passions and interests of those concerned. With great political address, the lord deputy secretly practised with both the Catholics and puritans, exciting the apprehensions of each against the other, taking care that a number of military officers should be chosen burgesses, who, by their immediate dependence upon the crown, would be under his influence in any critical occasion, librating the balance of party as he should deem necessary. In all his measures, however, he displayed his pride and severity, and with a contemptible servility the counsellors appear to have yielded to his intimidating threats, and to have acquiesced in every measure proposed by the imperious lord deputy, who scrupled not to say, that if the king's wishes and demands were not cheerfully complied with, he should think himself justified in enforcing them at the head of his army. In the upper house, however, a bolder spirit manifested itself, and Wentworth found, in the display of his imperious will, that the spirit of the old English nobility of Ireland by no means corresponded with the contemptuous idea he had formed of the whole nation. He found it necessary to conciliate, and attach to his interest several noblemen, who nobly resisted his haughtiness, and made him sensible that his despotic will was not to govern them, as they were not to be intimidated by his severity, nor deceived by his artifices.

We shall not, of course, dwell upon the particular proceedings of this parliament, further than to mention that the lords infringed the law of Poynings, which Wentworth, at the conclusion of it, protested against, to prevent its becoming a

precedent for such violation. The necessities of the state being provided for, the question of the graces was agitated with the more freedom, many of them were evaded, some rendered nugatory, some denied, but many acts were established, affecting the general interests of the people, which did honour to the administration that supported them, and some few provisions for the public good, which had been opposed and defeated by the recusant members, Wentworth, with his characteristic high strain of prerogative, determined to establish by an act of state.

With this parliament sat also a convocation of the clergy. They granted eight subsidies to the king, at the same time soliciting redress of several expressed grievances, and the correction of several disorders in ecclesiastical affairs. The condition of the Irish church was indeed at this time deplorable; the places of worship were in ruin, the possessions of the clergy alienated; violent intrusion in the midst of public disorders, appropriations and commendams had reduced the rural clergy to utter poverty and contempt. Even the provisions made for the clergy in the late reign, on settling the plantations, had in a great degree been rendered nugatory, by artful or fraudulent commissions. The natural consequence of the poverty and contempt of the established clergy, was ignorance, negligence, and corrupt manners. The Romish hierarchy, which exercised a regular jurisdiction in every part of the kingdom, were indefatigable and assiduous in taking advantage of every neglect or absence of the established clergy, and in some places had even possessed themselves of ecclesiastical lands. On the other hand, the more bigoted of the Scottish presbyterians were violently zealous for their own discipline and worship, offering continual insults to

the established church government, and treating its rites and worship with open and marked contempt.

These sectaries appeared to the lord deputy at least equal enemies to the church as the Catholics; a perfect conformity was the great work which he, and his guide and friend Laud, zealously desired to establish in Ireland; but it was a measure which exceeded the abilities of both, superior as they were. The procedures of Wentworth were however highly judicious, in the existing state of religious affairs. He first provided churches to receive, and able ministers to instruct the people. He issued commissions for the reparation of the churches throughout the kingdom. Laws were provided in the late parliament for restitution of the rights of the clergy, and provisions made to prevent future alienations. The cares of the governor did not rest here; they extended themselves to the instruction and education of the rising generation of Irish clergy. He inspected minutely into the state and circumstances of the university of Dublin; they were found in great disorder; the governor was removed, and another substituted more efficient; the statutes were submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who drew up a new body of laws for the university, as he had antecedently done for that of Oxford; and these were established by royal authority.

But the grand point which Archbishop Laud and the lord deputy were zealously desirous to effect, was the entire union of the churches of England and Ireland, by establishing the English articles and canons in the latter, as the rule of doctrine and discipline. The clergy of puritanic bias were, it will be well supposed, by no means favourers of this union, and expressed a zealous

solicitude for what they termed the independence of their church. Archbishop Usher, who was the principal of this party, had always been regarded with a jealous eye by Wentworth, but on account of his station, his uncommon worth and great popularity, he was to be treated with respect and caution even by the haughty governor. It could not but be mortifying to the compiler of the Irish articles of religion, in the late reign, to find them threatened with abolition; and had the temper of the revered Usher disposed him to turbulence and opposition, the lord deputy might have found himself involved in much trouble and embarrassment, so completely was Usher in possession of the affections, and so great was his influence with almost all the Irish clergy. To reconcile the projected reformation to those who disapproved it, it was agreed that no censure should be passed on any of the former articles, but that they should be virtually, not formally, abrogated, by the establishment of those of England. It was also determined, in respect to the canons, that they should not be received in a body; but a collection made of such as might be most acceptable and useful, to form a rule of discipline for the Irish church. Both these important measures were accomplished, but evidently more by the influence of the lord deputy's authority, than the inclinations of the clergy, although only one member of the convocation had the manliness to avow his dissent. These regulations of the ecclesiastical system were followed by the establishment of an high commission court, erected in Dublin after the English model, with all its odious formalities and tremendous powers. The intentions of this establishment, (observes the lord deputy to Laud,) were to countenance the despised state of the clergy, to support the eccle-

siastical courts, and restrain the extortions of their officers, to annul foreign jurisdiction, to punish polygamies and adulteries, to provide for the maintenance and residence of the clergy, to inquire into the application of pious and charitable donations, to bring the people into a conformity of religion, *and in the way of all these raise, perhaps, a good revenue to the crown.* The favourite, and as it would appear, the never-forgotten object of Wentworth, seems to have been to improve the revenue, and to supply the royal necessities; and when in effecting this, we find him protecting commerce, encouraging industry, introducing manufactures, we gladly award him the tribute of just praise he merits; but when the faith of a people is rendered subservient to this measure, it assumes a character at once impious and detestable. There is one scheme of national good, which owes its origin to Wentworth, and which entitles him to the gratitude of Ireland, that of the introduction and encouragement of the linen trade. To encourage a spirit of enterprise, the deputy himself embarked in his favourite project, even to the amount of thirty thousand pounds.

The general acts of Wentworth's administration are not necessary to our design; we shall, therefore, not enter into them, but those who consult the history of his government, will be readily convinced that he seems, in some instances, to have conceived that the dignity of his administration could only be supported by exertions of authority, which betray a complete intoxication of power and greatness. In investigating and prosecuting the king's claims of land, and in other instances, many individuals were aggrieved by his imperious government, but justice and truth oblige us to say, that the country in general derived many advantages from his rigid administration.

The army, which had been a heavy burden, was now rendered effective, serviceable, inoffensive to the peaceable, formidable to the disaffected. The revenue was unencumbered, and a surplus reserved for exigencies. The ecclesiastical establishment was protected, church revenues improved, and able and respectable teachers provided for the instruction of the people. The recusants being possessed of the largest portion of power and consequence, were not irritated by opposition or violence, but were restrained in their public exercises of religion, so as to preserve the authority of the government, without exciting any very serious discontents. Various great national benefits were derived, upon the whole, from the administration of this nobleman, however, in too many instances, justly unpopular. But fraught with difficulties, as the exercise of his high responsibilities hitherto had been, the time was fast approaching in which Wentworth found them to increase manifold.

It would carry us far beyond the limits of our design, to detail the important influences of the troubles in Scotland upon Irish politics and prejudices, at the period we are now arrived at in our retrospect. [1639.] It must suffice to say, that the perplexities of the devoted Charles became, in both countries, every passing day more inextricable, that the fervour of religious zeal, the desperate obstinacy of fanaticism, were transmitted from Scotland to Ireland, and that although in the latter the explosion was not so dreadful, yet the mine was laid for a universal spirit of opposition, at once deliberate and strenuous, or to use the expressive observation of Wentworth, when the Scottish disturbances became known to him, and awakened his fears for Ireland, he justly apprehended "that the skirts of the great rain,

if not some part of the thundering and lightning, "might fall on this kingdom." The Scots settled in the northern counties, generally agreed with those of their native country in religious doctrine and discipline, and although under more controul, were in reality no less inveterate enemies to the established church; several of them had even taken the covenant, and passed secretly into Scotland, to share in the glorious cause now so happily there advanced, while the less active were persuaded, that the period was quickly arriving, when their own discipline would be established, and therefore firmly resisted the attempts made to reduce them to a conformity. These circumstances could not but excite alarm to the lord deputy, who was perfectly aware that many individuals of high station in Ireland were favourers of the puritanical cause; nor could his sagacity fail to perceive the perilous situation of his royal master. Determined therefore to act with, if possible, increased vigour and assiduity, he prescribed a new engagement to the Ulster Scots, whereby they promised allegiance to the king, submission to his commands, and expressed an abhorrence of the proceedings of their countrymen, and the abjuration of all covenants contrary to their present oath. This test was imposed on all ages, sexes, and conditions, and the refusal of it was attended with fines and imprisonment, severely executed. Charles highly approved of this and several other measures of Wentworth, but his affairs were now in such a distressful situation, that he could no longer dispense with his personal assistance and counsel. He was accordingly recalled to England, being directed to commit his government to two lords justices. Wentworth had frequently besought his royal friend and master to justify him against the clamour of

his enemies, by bestowing on him some high honour. His petition was now granted, the king confirmed him in his high official station, under the title of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, advanced him to the earldom of Strafford, and created him a knight of the garter.

These manifestations of royal favour, in times so critical, could not fail to expose Strafford to envy, and odium, and danger, more especially when contrary to sentiments he had formerly held, he recommended the most vigorous measures against the Scots, who, provoked at this zeal, vowed vengeance against the malignant enemy of their cause. The earl persuaded the king that considerable resources might be furnished by Ireland for his necessities, and advised that a parliament should be summoned there; the scheme was adopted, and Strafford passed over to Ireland to accomplish it.

1640. The popish party in Ireland, whatever were their prejudices and grievances, were far from favouring the cause of the covenanters, and affected the greatest zeal and attachment to the king. The puritans, indeed, were numerous, but not yet encouraged by their friends in England to avow their discontents, and were awed by a rigorous administration.

These and various other combining causes appeared to confer an unusual unity to the assembly, and they even exceeded the wishes of Strafford, by granting four subsidies, attended by a high encomium on the administration of the lord deputy, declaring unanimously that they were ready to support his majesty, on all great occasions, with their persons and estates, &c. The Irish lords manifested the same spirit of loyalty. Strafford indeed seems to have seized that happy moment in the mutable state of human affairs, which

once suffered to pass by unimproved, is lost for ever.

In these favourable dispositions of the Irish representatives, Strafford had but to issue the requisite orders for levying the grants, and raising and regulating the new army; but the pressing situation of Charles imperatively required his return to England. To his friend and deputy, therefore, Wandesford, was left the charge of raising the subsidies, and the Earl of Ormond was appointed to organize the army. The new levies consisted of eight thousand men, and a thousand from the old army were incorporated with them, in order to expedite the discipline. The privates were all Catholics, but all the officers Protestants. Although necessity obliged this measure, it raised a violent clamour against the king and Strafford, who, it was said, armed legions of popish ruffians, to glut their malice in the blood of the godly. Now was to be displayed an instance of political insincerity and versatility, which appears almost as a spell, to defeat the purposes of the unhappy Charles. That parliament, lately so profuse in profession, so loud in its sentiments of devotedness and attachment, so virulent against the disloyalty of the covenanters, now most reluctantly and scantily supplied his exigencies; a new spirit seems suddenly to have actuated the people.

To follow the several manifestations of this opposing spirit, would but fatigue our readers, in few words we therefore sum them. The subsidies which they had so cheerfully voted to the service of "*the best of kings*," such was their expression, they reduced to a fourth part. The court of high commission was determined to be a grievance not to be borne, martial law was abolished, the juris-

diction of the council annihilated, proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority; every order and institution which depended on monarchy was invaded, and the prince was despoiled of all his prerogative, without the least pretext of any violence or illegality in administration.

Amongst the proceedings of an assembly, which in various instances appears to have scorned the limits of its own constitutional privileges, and to have assumed a power of deciding property, and controlling the courts of law, a convenient object of arbitrary power was found in the established clergy; a body alike obnoxious to the popish and puritanical systems. Not contented with rescinding decrees made in favour of the clergy, and involving individuals of this order in vexatious difficulties, the house proceeded to strike at the very vitals of the religious establishment, by harassing the university. The code of laws for this institution, drawn up by Laud, excluded, as may well be supposed, all non-conformists from the advantages and preferments; the regulations underwent a severe parliamentary investigation; dangers were affected to be discovered in them, that had never been experienced, and objections made, which time and experience had abundantly confuted. In the plenitude of their power, they forbad any elections to be made, or any leases executed in the college, until the house should give further orders therein; and to complete the triumph over royal prerogative, the committee were empowered to inspect the old and new statutes, and to make a compilation of laws from both, as they should judge necessary, for the government of the college. By this instance, among very many others, it will easily be seen, the Irish parliament was treading in the steps of the

English one, and gradually undermining the ground on which the unfortunate Charles was pursuing his anxious and difficult course.

After the arraignment of Strafford, and the fatal termination of his life, in the former of which his administration in Ireland bore so large a part, and the particulars so well known are unnecessary to be adverted to here, the sensation created in Ireland by that great event, produced effects, of which the transactions we have alluded to were but a very small part.

The Irish forces raised by Strafford for the service of Scotland, but which upon a cessation of arms were directed to be disbanded, had long continued an useless and heavy burden to the state of Ireland, and as they were Catholics, an odious and alarming object to the English commons; for as there was no money to pay the arrears of the soldiers, the order for disbanding them could not be executed. The repeated remonstrances, however, of the English parliament, [1641,] obliged Charles to disband them; but to prevent the danger of letting so many unemployed men loose upon the country, he determined to send them on foreign service, and he actually entered into negociations with the Spanish ambassador. Every thing was judiciously prepared for their transport, when, as if actuated by one impulsive spirit of opposition, the Irish committee in London, and the commission in Ireland, protested against the measure. The commons of England united in the objections raised, and thus the project of freeing the country from men who might be made the instruments of rebellion, was frustrated. Nor would the Irish parliament assent to any proposal of augmenting the standing army from three to five thousand men, a number which

Charles deemed necessary for retaining Ireland in due obedience.

In the meantime the old Irish, under the continual influence of their accustomed instigators, remarked every weakness and false step of the English, and secretly resolved to take advantage of them. These ever restless feudatories, living under the perpetual vigilance of a government they hated, brooding in discontent, in all that stern elevation of soul which is reckless of human suffering, when in competition with powerful volitions, ever the sport of powerful antipathies, and impetuous passions; these were the men who were prepared to act a part in any drama, however horrid, which the mistaken zeal, the direful fanaticism, or the diabolic hatred of their prime movers might assign them.

We shall close this period of our retrospect by stating, that the Irish committees, long anxiously expected, at length arrived, laden with proofs of favour and honour. They were the bearers of those bills for which the parliament had so repeatedly and strongly petitioned, by which the possessions of the subjects were ensured, and all their capital grievances redressed, so as to deprive the most factious of any reasonable excuse for discontent, and calculated to give entire satisfaction to those who had asserted the rights of Irish subjects with integrity and sincerity, and to open to all a fair and flattering prospect of public tranquillity and national prosperity. It was in this state of affairs that the Irish parliament adjourned.

CHAPTER XVI.

Invidious distinctions in Ireland—Strong prejudices, just causes of them—Contrasted view of Catholics and Protestants—Irish easily acted upon—Roger Moore—Sketch of his disposition and character—Phelim O'Nial enters into the conspiracy—Crisis arrives—Apathy of government—Conspiracy discovered—Conduct of lords justices—General insurrections—Horrid cruelties committed—Supineness of the lords justices—Ormond remonstrates—Earl of Clanricarde—Unhappy situation of the king—Narrow policy of English ministers—King memorialized, Lord Dillon the bearer—Lords justices endeavour to counteract it—And succeed—Rebel leaders profit by the circumstance—Sir Charles Coote. Rebellion extends to the pale—Moore intrigues with Lord Gormanston—He joins the conspiracy—Dublin threatened with siege—Manifestoes circulated—Rebellion extends—Moderation of many Roman Catholic ecclesiastics—Legal conviction of rebels—Mercenary spirit of the lords justices—Mac Mahon—His confession—Sir John Read put to the rack—Patrick Barewal endures the torture—Insinuations against the king Indignant feelings of Charles—He resolves to pass over to Ireland—Alarm of the lords justices—King not permitted to go—Disappointment of the pale—Lord Gormanston dies of grief—His associates disperse—Rebel forces defeated by Ormond—Lady Offaly—Her spirited conduct—Distresses of the army—Irish parliament sits during three days only—Arrival of Owen O'Nial—His character—Is declared leader of the northern confederacy—Scotch troops arrive—Injudicious severity of parliament—Succours to the rebels sent from Dunkirk—English alarmed—Synod of Catholic clergy—Its decrees—Lord Mountgarret chosen president—General meeting at Kilkenny—Its imposing appearance—Death of Roger Moore—Earl of Castlehaven unites with the assembly—Clanricarde refuses—Policy of the lords justices—Loyalist officers address the king—Noble spirit of Ormond—A treaty proposed with the council of Kilkenny—Delicacy of it—The council make conditions—They are rejected by Ormond—Peter Scarampi minister from the pope—His reception by the old Irish—Articles of treaty agreed upon—Ratified by proclamation—Received with discontent and clamour.

It has been justly observed, "There is a state of public feeling, that although veiled in the silence of brooding reserve, yet contains a mine of resistance which the faintest spark may kindle into inextinguishable explosion." Ireland alas exemplified the truth of this observation at the period we are now about to consider. The fair prospect with which we closed our preceding chapter, was quickly overcast by clouds so awful, that our spirit sinks when we recollect that the scorching lightnings which proceeded from them, were no appalling illusions of the fancy, but realities terribly pressed upon the senses by the fearful devastations they produced. We have seen that the ardent desire and professed object of James in forming his Irish settlements, was to unite the inhabitants of Ireland, and to banish all those odious distinctions which had been the fruitful source of jealousy and anarchy. Unfortunately, however, the same generous policy did not animate the breasts of his ministers and their successors. By them invidious distinctions were still made, as the recent adventurers and servants of the crown appeared virtually to be esteemed as the only loyal and affectionate subjects. While all others were deemed disaffected and dangerous, and treated accordingly. These latter, spirited, proud, and smarting under a sense of injustice, felt themselves insulted, and although circumstanced so as not to possess the power of resistance, yet the very restraint added ardour to the desire and gave more bitterness to their resentments. In forming and organizing those plantations, we have already stated that in various instances the pride and the prejudices of the old natives were necessarily invaded, and that advantageous as was the prospect of civilization which they opened, yet many preferred their ancient barbarous com-

munity to the more secure but narrower possessions assigned them by the plan of James. The fraud and circumvention of artful ministers and self interested agents were not only irritating to such individuals, but the insincerity evinced respecting the *graces* and the severity of the government at the period when they were purchased, aroused every dormant principle of opposition, and fixed deeper in the breast those pernicious prejudices which were so powerfully operative against every thing English.

To so many estranging principles, we must add those so strong in themselves, and so tending to add vigour to every other with which they connect themselves, religious animosities and prepossessions. With all the obstinacy marking a sectarian spirit, the largest proportion of Irish inhabitants were devoted to popery, regarding protestantism with double hatred, because it was the religion of their oppressors, who had coupled their mode of faith with odious disqualifications, and punished it with penal statutes. The tenets of the Catholic religion gave the Romish clergy the most unbounded influence over the minds of the most enlightened of their flock, and the multitude were governed, and could be directed at will. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the spirit of those ecclesiastics who educated in foreign seminaries in all the dangerous spiritual and political dogmas of their religion, brought them all into pernicious action among the irritated Irish, as they are well known to change the very nature and essential differences of vice and virtue to sanctify rebellion and to absolve man from his allegiance to his God and his king.

Ecclesiastics possessing and triumphing in this dangerous spirit, erected a spiritual jurisdiction in the combustible soil of Ireland. The state

connived at the private exercise of their devotions, and religious rites. But this indulgence was of little avail to men who had been accustomed to the ostentatious pomp of their ritual in foreign countries, who had witnessed the grandeur of foreign prelates, the reverence paid to their order, their noble endowments, their ample revenues, their unbounded influence. They formed the humiliating contrast of their own situation, fulfilling by sufferance and connivance their sacerdotal duties in secrecy and disguise; and possessing only a scanty and dependent subsistence surrounded by heretics, enjoying those advantages which should be theirs. They were bound by the principles of their faith to use all endeavours to extend the empire of the holy see, to assert the popes universal monarchy, civil and spiritual, and every means to attain these pious ends, were deemed not only profitable, but meritorious. To support, to strengthen, and to extend the powerful system of priestly domination in Ireland, there appeared no other way than that of arms and insurrection, and the elements of these were laid in the character, the affections, the oppressions of the people. Proud, querulous, impetuous, disdaining any profession but that of arms, the old Irish were easily roused to any desperate attempt which gave an opportunity for the developement of those deep seated feelings which rankled in their souls.

While the passions of the Irish were thus violently agitated, the Scots threw off their dependence on the crown of England, and roused all the emulation of the Irish, who felt even a self degradation in having been anticipated in what they deemed a noble struggle for their liberties, civil and religious. Circumstances, the Irish thought, subjected as they were to far greater

oppressions than the Scots had been, demanded the same noble and perilous duty of them. The recollections of their ancient grandeur, their hopes for the future in the land of their birth, every thing around them, and within them, summoned them to the assertion of their rights, and roused in each heart thoughts of patriotic affection and honour, while they were animated by a determination holy and terrible, and all the forces of the soul were directed to one great end, that of emancipation from a thraldom no longer endurable. Such were the sentiments which the popish emissaries assiduously cultivated, and kept alive as instrumental to their own self interested policy, and a fit agent was soon found to explode the mine they had extensively and deeply laid. Roger Moore was the head of a once powerful family in Leinster. His ancestors, during the reign of Mary, had been expelled from their princely possessions by violence and fraud, and their sept harassed, and nearly extirpated by military execution. An hereditary hatred of the English had thus most naturally been infused into the scattered and reduced remnants of the family, and had been manifested in various instances by them. Nurtured in the noxious atmosphere of these revengeful and irritated feelings, the resentment of Roger was deep seated and determined. The elements of all that was noble and generous were in the soul of Roger. It remained for circumstances to bring them into action, and give them direction. Brooding on the sufferings of his ancestors, sinking under his own difficulties and narrow resources, and continually a witness of his rightful inheritance as he considered it, possessed by strangers rioting in the spoils of his family, and possessing that nervous temperament which peculiarly clings to the consolations of

religion, as a refuge from constantly pressing evils, it can be no subject of conjecture to which point the affections and the passions of Roger Moore would be directed. Deeply concentrated within his own soul, however, were the thoughts and designs which agitated it. His conduct was cautious and deliberate, for he possessed judgment, penetration, and a refinement of manners which far advanced him beyond the period in which he lived. Some part of his youth had been past on the continent, by which his manners were polished, but where his hatred of the English power was confirmed by the intercourse he there held with his exiled countrymen. In particular while on a visit to the Spanish capital, he attached himself to the son of the rebel chieftain Tirowen, who had obtained a regiment, and was greatly caressed at the Spanish court. The victims of what they regarded a similar oppression, a community of feeling and of interests drew these high souled Irishmen together in the strictest bond of amity. Together they expatiated on the wrongs of their forefathers, on their noble efforts in the cause of religion and their country, and together they dwelt on the hopes of still reviving by their self devotion to the cause, the ancient splendour of their families.

With such men, in such a place, an aversion to that power which had subverted all they deemed sacred in their country, was heroic patriotism; the spirit of Moore was fired, the powerful impulse was given; he had arrived at the point of enthusiasm when self is annihilated, no anticipated perils daunted him, he had offered himself a sacrifice to his country's wrongs, no regret, no hesitation now intruded themselves into his resolutions, his heart became absorbed entirely in its object, and he had literally separated *himself* from

himself as an offering to his country, unmindful of life and all that endeared it, could he but effect the restoration of his brethren, to the privileges of their father's land. These sentiments, it will be imagined, were applauded by his brave companion and friend, they separated with mutual emotion, and Moore returned to Ireland with his mind wholly engaged by the bold design he had formed. From the moment that the idea of expelling the English and establishing the independence of his country first dawned on the mind of Moore, he judiciously endeavoured to conciliate the esteem and affection of the native Irish. He was in every way remarkably qualified to effect his wishes on this point. His address was courteous and insinuating, he possessed a quick discernment of character, a pliancy of adapting himself, to their sentiments and passions rendered irresistibly pleasing by a remarkable gracefulness of person and dignity of aspect and demeanor. Fascinated with these exterior graces and moral qualifications, the old Irish beheld the gallant representative of one of their most distinguished families, with feelings of rapture and affection amounting to enthusiasm, they regarded him as their glory and their protection, they celebrated him in their songs, and it even became a proverbial expression, that their dependence was upon God, our lady, and Roger Moore! Moore secretly went from chieftain to chieftain, and adapting himself to each according to the predominant bias of the mind, or their peculiar causes of hatred to the English, he roused up every latent spirit of discontent and resentment. He maintained a close correspondence with Lord Macguire, and Sir Phelim O'Nial the most powerful of the old Irish. By his insinuating conversation, by letters, by his emissaries, he repre-

sented to his countrymen the motives of a revolt, intimating that such a revolt tending only to vindicate their native liberty against the violence of foreign invaders, could never at any time be deemed rebellion.

By such arguments, Moore engaged all the chiefs of the native Irish into the conspiracy. The plan formed was that Sir Phelim O'Neal and others should begin the insurrection in one day throughout the provinces, at the same time Lord Macguire and Moore were to surprise the castle at Dublin. The commencement of the revolt was fixed for the beginning of winter, that there might be the less facility in transporting the forces from England. To quicken the resolutions, and animate these hopes of the conspirators, there now arrived an emissary from the Earl of Tirowen in Spain, (as he was there called by that title,) with assurances to all of his name and kindred, of arms, money, and ammunition, from Cardinal Richelieu, with instructions to hold themselves in readiness for an insurrection. This emissary was in return directed to inform the earl, of the period fixed for revolt, and to desire the arrival of all the succours by the period named; and to such a height was their enthusiasm now exalted, that even the rumour of the death of the brave young Tirowen, the beloved friend of Moore, did not damp their zeal. The messenger was instructed, that if the report were confirmed, he should address himself to another of the same family, then in the Low Countries, Colonel Owen O'Neal, acquaint him with the plan, request his aid and direction, and particularly that he would exert his interest with Richelieu, and secure his promised succours.

The spirits of the malcontents were raised by intelligence, real or feigned, of terrible proclama-

tions issued against the Catholics of England, and the denunciations of the Scots against all of their communion. Imagination presented a Scottish army, in all the phrenzy of religious zeal, ready to land on the Irish shores, to persecute the Romanists with sword and fire; hence all the objections to sending the disbanded Irish army into foreign service—*they* were already fixed upon as fit instruments of rebellion.

A desperate and dangerous partizan in the conspiracy, was Sir Phelim O'Nial of Kinnaud; in his youth he had professed the Protestant religion, receiving his education in England. On settling in his native country, however, he apostatized to popery, and degenerated into all the rudeness of an Irish life, in the remote provinces. Unlike Roger Moore, his hatred was not grounded upon any injuries experienced either by his family or himself; but on the contrary, their possessions had been secured, and were confirmed to Sir Phelim by new patent. In character, this man stood in direct opposition to Moore; the spirit of selfishness, and the restlessness of this ignoble feeling, made him plunge eagerly into the conspiracy, which borrowed the sacred name of religion to sanctify its enormities. With a brutal and sensual temper, and mean understanding, this degenerate branch of the O'Nial took possession of his patrimony, at an age when he was destitute of discretion, and of consequence was quickly involved in difficulties, arising from his licentious and dissipated life. His name, however, gave him local consequence, which was augmented on the confirmation of the premature death of the young O'Nial, which event left him in uncontested rank, as chieftain of the extensive and powerful sept of O'Nial.

The offers and plans of Moore aroused his

imagination with visions of exchanging his present poverty, and comparative obscurity, for the riches and power annexed to his title in old times. Accordingly he entered fully into the design, corresponded with Owen O'Nial, listened to his assurances of foreign succours, and under the pretence of levying forces for the King of Spain, he collected the indigent, the profligate, the barbarous, the violent, and the discontented, and kept them in readiness for the purposes of his colleagues and himself. Roger Moore, secretly exulting in the progress of that conflagration which he had lighted up, had hitherto kept himself in reserve, employing Macguire as his agent, to organize the conspiracy. But the hesitation and defection of some of the conspirators obliged him to come forward with his commanding and insinuating powers, to prevent its being extinguished in the commencement. He prevailed; the conspiracy was revived, and the order and method of procedure was duly regulated. The day was fixed for surprising the castle of Dublin, which, by an unaccountable carelessness of government, was guarded only by fifty men, though containing arms for ten thousand men, and thirty-five pieces of cannon. Moore undertook this primary enterprise, while O'Nial agreed to conduct the northern insurrection. Two hundred men were to be employed in the attempt against the castle. That their entrance into Dublin might create no suspicion, they were represented as intended for Spain. The general rising was to take place at the same time. Such were the schemes, the prospects, and motives of these misguided men; and there is every historical evidence, to prove that their design extended to the subversion of the late establishments of property, the restoring to the Irish what they had lost by the rebellions

of their ancestors, or the decisions of law, and the re-establishment of the Romish religion in all the splendour and power of its hierarchy.

But the conspirators by no means rested even in this extensive plan. Their imaginations projected a far more glorious work, even the subjugation of England, the re-establishment of the papal power in that kingdom, which once effected, they meant to assist Spain, and with them chastise the rebellious Hollanders. These extravagancies are said to have gained possession of the Romish clergy, a considerable meeting of whom, with some laymen, took place, just previous to the period fixed for the revolt, in the abbey of Multifernan, county Westmeath, where with the arrogance, presumption, and vanity, which are the usual concomitants of ignorance and inexperience, when engaged in any factious purpose, they consulted, as if already masters of the kingdom. But if the clergy indulged such hopes of the success of the conspiracy, the leaders were more cautious and solicitous.

The day quickly approached which was to prove their fatal purpose. Secret rumours had transpired of a disposition to revolt, but with a supineness and apathy, which almost seemed to indicate connivance, the lords justices took no warning by them, and the Earl of Leicester, whom the king had appointed lieutenant, remained in London. All seemed to slumber in profound repose on the brink of destruction. It was not till the eve of the day fixed for the revolt, that they were roused from their security; the conspirators but waited the hour of execution. Maguire and Moore were already in Dublin, with a numerous band of their partisans, others were expected momentarily; and the following morning they were to undertake what they esteemed

an easy enterprise, the surprisal of the castle, when O'Conolly, an Irishman, but a Protestant, to whom Mac Mahon had unaccountably divulged the whole conspiracy, on a presumption of his secretly being favourable to the cause, betrayed the whole to Sir William Parsons, one of the lords justices. The justices and council fled for refuge to the castle, and reinforced the guards. All was commotion and alarm throughout the city; Macguire was taken in his concealment, Moore escaped; Mac Mahon was seized, and after some hesitation freely confessed the design in which he had engaged, boasted that the insurrection of that day was too mighty and too general to be subdued, and expressed his satisfaction that although he had fallen into the power of his enemies, his death would be severely revenged. Alas! he spoke but too true. Although the castle was saved from surprise by the disclosure of O'Conolly, it came too late to arrest the general insurrection; the plans had been too well and too deeply laid.

O'Nial and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where mingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests, to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their prosperity, derived, as they thought, from their property.

In the meantime, measures to secure the peace and security of the capital were formed, and intelligence sent to England of the events; O'Conolly being the bearer of a letter to the Earl of Leicester. This letter was closed by a posteript, signed by Sir William Parsons, recommending O'Conolly as a person, who by his faith and loyalty had deserved such a mark of royal bounty, as might extend to him and his posterity.

The operations of the conspirators had been so well concerted, and their design concealed, that faithful to their engagements they rose simultaneously in different quarters. O'Nial led the way, by surprising the castle of Charlemont; Lord Caulfield, a brave officer, grown old in the royal service, was governor of this fort, and lived in the exercise of generous hospitality, in unsuspecting confidence with his Irish neighbours. O'Nial invited himself to sup with this brave officer; he and his followers were received with that cordial welcome which ever distinguished the noble hearted soldier. While in the enjoyment of it, a signal was given by the treacherous O'Nial, the whole family were seized, the garrison were made prisoners, and the castle was pillaged! Thus they continued their devastating course, possessing themselves in their progress of a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. The popish inhabitants were every where summoned to arms, and commanded to maintain the honour of their religion; and such was the success, that in the short space of eight days, the rebels were absolute masters of the entire counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Langford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donnegal, and Derry, together with parts of Armagh and Downe. Through the whole open country of these dictricts, the English inhabitants became the victims of a ruthless enemy; driven from their habitations, naked, destitute, exposed to the rigour of an inclement season; fainting and dying in the public ways, or crawling to some place of refuge, overwhelmed with fear, or expiring of famine. Many were also confined in prison, in perpetual fear of death, although indiscriminate massacre was not yet committed. The English were the objects pointed out to vengeance and detestation, the Scottish planters being left

unmolested. The measures of a puritanic government were the theme of unceasing complaint, to keep alive or to excite the hatred of their followers, whose ignorance was easily led to believe, that it was the intention of government to extirpate the Romish religion from Ireland. Such suggestions gave fresh impulse to the fury of the Irish. They vowed not to leave an Englishman in the country, and uttered the most horrid threats against the king and his family. Many were seduced by a shameful imposture to join the revolters. The leader O'Nial having found at Charlemont a royal patent, tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged himself, by which he made it appear, that he had his authority from the king and queen for the insurrection, affirming that the cause of assuming arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative, now invaded by a puritanical parliament.

Amidst all the enormities which spread through the devoted country, and the miseries, from which the imagination recoils in horror, the sacred name of religion resounded, not with its still small voice of mercy, but as a furious zealot, to steel the heart against every human sympathy. The English, as heretics, were abhorred of God, and justly detestable to all holy men. It was meritorious to rid the world of these enemies to all that was good.

"Nature," says Hume, "in that rude people sufficiently inclined to atrocious deeds, was stimulated now by precept, and national prejudices empoisoned by those aversions, more deadly and incurable, which arose from an enraged superstition. While death closed the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins with joy and exultation still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments

infinite and eternal." We cannot enter into the terrible detail of the barbarities which marked a revolt memorable in the annals of human kind, and most worthy to be held in eternal abhorrence —ignominious remembrances are they of that intolerant frenzy, which we trust will never again be called into action.

There is little doubt, formidable as the insurrection was, but it might have been quelled, had the lords justices acted with spirit and firmness; but their supineness evidently was the effect of some self-interested cause, which did not clearly appear, having its origin in the spirit of the party. Many scrupled not to insinuate, that the coldness and reserve of the governors was the effect of directions received from the reigning factions in England. The justices seemed, by their conduct, rather to wish to foment the rebellion, with a view of profiting by the multiplied forfeitures, therefore instead of taking active steps to allay its far spreading fury, they contented themselves with providing for their own present security, and that of the capital. The Earl of Ormond, general of the forces, remonstrated warmly against such timid, base, and interested counsels, but was most unwillingly obliged to submit to authority.

The general tenor of the conduct of those who held the government at this most critical juncture, was so obstinately opposed to every thing which was patriotic, in such direct contradiction to the sentiments of the wisest and most moderate of all parties in the kingdom, that the results can occasion no surprise. Among the many instances which might be adduced of the aversion of the lords justices to suppress the rebellion, at least, by any resources which Ireland might offer, was the neglect which was paid to the virtuous Earl of Clanricarde and St. Albans, the most powerful

friend to government in the western province. With the old inhabitants he enjoyed the confidence of a chieftain, with the English, the reverence and dignity of a distinguished nobleman, equally eminent by his illustrious connexions, his favour with the king, but more especially by his own excellent and exalted endowments. On the first rise of the rebellion, he was resident at his Irish mansion of Portumna, and exerted himself with especial zeal to preserve the peace of his own county, Galway, and of the neighbouring districts. He raised troops, strengthened the fort of Galway, made a progress through the country, dissipated the apprehensions of the people, inspected every port, encouraged the loyal, terrified the disaffected, and, in short, evinced in every act the most perfect honour and loyalty. But with all his zeal and activity, with all the exalted qualities which form a true patriot, the Earl of Clanricarde was hated and suspected by the state, for he was a Catholic. Every assistance was denied him, and every occasion seized to mortify and disgust him.

The lords justices, and their puritanic adherents, were the more encouraged to reject the assistance of all who were not of their party, by the assurances of support they received from England. In short, the English parliament had made the Irish rebellion subservient to their own purposes, consequently the government of Ireland was completely subjected to their will.

Fifteen years of continual contest between the unhappy Charles and his people, had reduced both to a state lamentable and critical. The popular leaders had triumphed over their monarch, and they now pleaded the necessity of securing the subject, not only by circumscribing, but abolishing the royal authority. The enthusiastic passion for the presbyterian discipline, diffused

itself through every grade of society, mingled with all their concerns, and had an especial and powerful influence on their political pursuits and opinions. The king, who from inclination, as well as a sense of duty, supported the hierarchy, therefore became the object of the resentment and hatred of those who detested every mode dissimilar to their own. Charles had unhappily fallen into such a situation with the people it was his lot to govern, that whichsoever side he embraced he must be endangered. The religious abhorrence of the hierarchy which prevailed, was augmented by the favour it received from the royal authority, while every device was resorted to, to confirm and inflame the suspicions entertained of the king's sentiments. A virulent abhorrence of popery, apprehension of popish agents and their deep designs, were the general themes of popular declamation.

At the period when every art was used to prejudice the popular mind against the king, the intelligence was received of a popish rebellion in Ireland. It was eagerly seized on as a confirmation of every assertion, industriously spread abroad with every exaggeration. The peculiar guilt of Catholic individuals was attributed to the whole as a body, and the people, ever accustomed to identify the prelatical with the popish party, were very easily persuaded, that this horrid insurrection was the result of their united intrigue; they were told that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for their violences; bigoted, malignant, and credulous, they listened to the calumnious tale, and loaded the already heavily oppressed monarch with the whole enormity; even the more candid and considerate, although they could not credit that the king would sanction such acts, yet believed (so universal was the pre-

judice against him) that the discontents of the Irish had been rather encouraged by him, in order to find the parliament employment, and to divert them from their too evident designs against his power. With such impressions, they saw danger in every proposition made by Charles for suppressing the rebellion. His solicitude for his Irish subjects was converted by the jealousy or the art of his enemies, into an insidious scheme of exhausting England of its arms and treasure, and of involving the parliament in an embarrassing and expensive war.

It was no new thing for the commons to encroach on the executive power; in regard to Ireland, they now at once assumed it, artfully grounding that assumption upon an expression of the king, whereby he had recommended to them the care of that kingdom. Having laid deeply their project for further innovations, the leaders now made their operations with respect to Ireland subservient to the great design they meditated, to establish their power. They affected the greatest zeal against the Irish insurgents, but they served only as a pretence for securing to themselves a superiority in those commotions which they anticipated in England. Had they any point to gain, the Irish rebellion was a ready plea and instrument for their purposes. If opposed in any design, it was imputed to the influence of the malignant party, encouraged by the rebellion in Ireland; if recusants were to be seized, if they were to continue guards about the house of commons, the Irish rebellion justified the measures. It was the constant burden of every petition for new-modelling religion, for subverting episcopacy, for guarding against papists and their adherents, and, in short, for every act of the parliament. Believing that at any time they could suppress the rebellion in

Ireland, they determined not to relinquish, by too hasty measures in doing so, the advantage it afforded them in their intended encroachments on the royal prerogative. Whatever law or act they deemed necessary to effect the purposes of their own ambition, was voted under the colour of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if the king withheld his consent, the refusal was instantly imputed to those pernicious counsels and opinions, which had at first excited the rebellion, and still threatened destruction to the protestant interest throughout his dominions. And such was the bias of the public mind against the church and the Catholics, that although no forces were for a long time sent to Ireland, and little aid given to the distress there existing, yet fault was never imputed to those pious popular leaders, whose votes breathed nothing but destruction to the Irish rebels.

We have thus found it necessary to glance at the intriguing motives of the English popular leaders, as it at once explains the conduct of the heads of the Irish government. Indeed English and Irish politics were become so intimately connected, that to understand the machinery of one, the other must be at least superficially examined. Guided as they were by their faction in England, the lords justices waited supinely within the walls of the capital, in expectation, they said, of supplies from England, while the flame of insurrection continued to extend itself, and many who had both the spirit and the loyalty to arrest its exterminating course, could neither obtain arms nor men to effect their wishes.

Things continued in this state of suspense and increasing danger, when a considerable party well affected to the royal cause, fully sensible that the insurrection, however unwarrantable, had

not been entirely unprovoked, and convinced that it might be suppressed by a judicious exertion of that force which even Ireland could supply, resolved to address the king without the intervention of the chief governors, whom they both suspected and despised. Lord Dillon was made the bearer of the memorial to the king. It contained just complaints against the conduct of the lords justices, and recommended that the Earl of Ormond should be substituted in their place, as a measure most effectual to allay the ferment of the nation, and to suppress the rebellion without assistance from England. Alarmed at this design, the crafty and mercenary Parsons, with his pliant colleague, devised means to counteract it. They instantly dispatched an agent to the leaders of the house of commons, and in a private letter to the Earl of Leicester, signed only by themselves and their junto, they declared they could not depend upon any other members of the council; they desired no attention to be paid to the representations of Lord Dillon, that the Irish were insufficient to repress the rebels, a work, they said, only to be effected by English forces. The mercenary spirit of these unworthy statesmen was sufficiently shown by their remark, that whatever expense the English government might incur by an armament, would be fully repaid by the increase of revenue, arising from the forfeited estates of those who were actors in the present mischiefs.

These representations were fatal to the embassy of Lord Dillon; he, with his companion, Lord Taafe, was arrested at Ware, by order of the house of commons, his papers taken from him and industriously suppressed. They were committed to custody, till it was no longer of consequence to detain them, when, being negligently guarded, they effected their escape. They has-

tened to the king at York, but were too late to offer their propositions.

In the meantime, the rebel leaders quickly discerned the advantages they derived from these circumstances. Moore, the great agent and director of the rebels, redoubled his assiduity; he desired his followers to discard all national distinctions, and to rest the whole merit of their cause on the civil and religious rights of the king's subjects in Ireland, which could only be defended against their numerous enemies by force of arms.

He forcibly pointed out the danger more especially that threatened their religion; the virulence expressed against popery by the English parliament, their sanguinary prosecution of popish ecclesiastics, their passionate declarations against any tolerance of popish errors, their denunciations against the Catholic communion, their menaces of persecution and extirpation; these and every argument to keep alive the spirit of resentment, were made use of with all the characteristic insinuation of the misguided Moore, who now dignified his followers with the title of the Catholic army, and published an oath of association, to be taken by all insurgents, purposely calculated to possess the nation with favourable sentiments of their motives, their cause, and their pursuits. The shameful timidity of the chief governors, the delay of English succours were alike encouraging to the daring rebels. They invested the castle of Wicklow, and the lords justices were hence compelled to some resistance. For this purpose they employed Sir Charles Coote, who was a soldier of fortune, trained in the wars of Elizabeth. Morose, insolent, and cruel in character, and further irritated by the ravages made on his estates, he had imbibed the most illiberal and inveterate prejudices against the Irish. He executed his

present commission therefore under the full influence of all these prejudices, repelled the Irish to their mountains, and in revenge of the depredations he had suffered, committed such ruthless, unprovoked and indiscriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the utmost enormities of the northern rebels. This wanton cruelty did but exasperate the desperate, and provoke them to severe retaliation.

Hitherto, the rebellion however formidable, was limited to the province of Ulster, and some few other counties, and confined wholly to the Irish as the actors. A more alarming and extensive scene now opened by the defection of the English pale. Although the inhabitants of this district had not entirely approved the assuming arms, they had their prejudices and their discontents. The lords justices regarded them with a suspicion, (they took no care to conceal,) as Irishmen; with abhorrence, as Romanists; they had granted them arms in the most ungracious manner when required for self defence, while the recal of them was humiliating and provoking. To determine them to arms, little more was required than to inflame the resentment which was brooding, and for this purpose Roger Moore was a fit agent. He accordingly addressed himself to Lord Gormanston, who not only possessed great power and influence, but was acquainted with the first conspiracy. Moore was never at a loss to give a fair and captivating aspect to any cause he advocated. With deep insinuating art he brought into view all the subjects of grievance which pressed upon the Catholics, the increasing power of the puritanic faction in England and Ireland, their inveteracy against all Catholics, and the imminent danger of some sanguinary scheme being devised to extirpate all of the communion.

With well affected disdain he dwelt upon the insolence of the lords justices, and roused the pride of his hearer by intimating the scorn with which they regarded the old nobility of Ireland. He expatiated with all the warmth of patriot feeling on the justice, the glory, the absolute necessity of rising in defence of the crown and the rights of the people. In short, he left no argument untried to influence the mind of his noble auditor, although he lamentably forgot the important maxim, "not to do evil that good may come." A remembrance of it was not to be expected from an enthusiast, a bigoted aud irritated Catholic, whose conscience, if it whispered aught unpleasant in the overt act, was easily quieted by the private absolution, or the promised penance. The representations of the ardent Moore thus urgently enforced, failed not in making the impression he wished, and with Lord Gormanston, the inhabitants of the pale might justly be deemed brought over to the cause. The interests of religion were found more prevalent over them, than regard or duty to their father land.

Lord Gormanston was chosen their leader, and uniting themselves with the old Irish, they even exceeded them in acts of violence towards the Protestants. Besides various smaller bodies dispersed over the kingdom, the principal army of the rebels amounted to twenty thousand men, and Dublin was threatened with an immediate siege. The Catholic lords having thus renounced the authority of government, and determined to recur to arms in honour of their religion, prepared an apology for their revolt to be transmitted to the king, which of course contained an enumeration of grievances as a justification of their defection. They deigned not, however, to march under the standard of the Ulster Irish, but levied

troops and chose their own commanders. The lords justices in their dispatches to Leicester, expressed the utmost contempt of this defection of the lords of the pale, but however they affected to despise the circumstance as one of no moment, it was really important. No evidence of zeal was it is true manifested, no excesses committed, but by apparent temper, moderation and dignity of conduct, by fair declarations of loyalty, by their zeal for the redress of grievances, they made a powerful impression on all the Catholics of Ireland. Manifestoes were sent to all the trading towns and seaports. These chiefly dwelt on the dangerous conjunction of the Irish governors with the popular party in England, and the terrible scheme of extirpation devised against all those who should refuse to abandon the Romish communion. All indiscreet and virulent expressions emanating from the government, were industriously propagated and commented upon, and succeeded in making a strong impression upon those whose remoteness of situation precluded the examination of reports or detection of their falsity.

The contagion of rebellion thus was spread far and wide, and, the usual violences, cruelties, and enormities followed the steps of fanaticism, and misdirected passion. It is but justice to say that if many popish ecclesiastics instigated by their horrid doctrines and persuasions to blood and massacre, others were known equally zealous to moderate the excesses of their misguided votaries, many not only protected the miserable English from fanatic fury, but also concealed them beneath the sanctuary of their altars, from that vengeance which pursued them from every quarter. Inevitable and total ruin must have ensued from this cruel contest, had it not yet been, that although the Irish had received military discipline

from foreigners, and in foreign service are notex celled by any troops, yet they in their own country have never been able to make a vigorous and effectual effort for the defence or recovery of their liberties. Hence, in many encounters, the English under different commanders had, though under the greatest disadvantages of situation and numbers, put the Irish to the rout. The lords justices in the meantime were engaged in a far more interesting manner to them than any thing that concerned the country alone, viz. the legal conviction of the individuals engaged in the insurrection, a measure previously necessary to the forfeiture of their estates. These extensive forfeitures were the chief object of these mercenary statesmen and their friends; and in order to ensure the advantages they anticipated from this source, the commons of England had very early petitioned that the king would not alienate any of the exacted lands that might accrue to the crown from the Irish rebellion. They had, in furtherance of their object, lately proceeded in a scheme for raising money from the lands thus expected to escheate. A bill was framed for repaying those who should advance certain sums for repressing of the rebels, (as was pretended,) by vesting them with proportional estates in Ireland, on terms highly advantageous to a new English plantation. Thus literally the devoted country was sold to the highest bidders. It was natural that the malcontents should be exasperated by this scheme, but it was not on this account less acceptable to those it tempted. Much as Charles regretted the consequences, he could not but foresee that he was reduced to the humiliating necessity of submission, and was obliged to consent to a bill which augmented the strength of his enemies. The administration of Ireland im-

plicitly yielding to the direction of their English guides, proceeded indefatigably in procuring indictments, not only against open rebels, but those whose conduct had been in the smallest degree suspicious. The fury of their prosecutions falling principally upon the gentlemen of the pale, desiring if possible to involve the principal families of the district so named in the guilt of first contriving and concerting the insurrection. With this view they inhumanly determined to supply the deficiency of legal evidence by putting some prisoners to the torture. They began with Mac Mahon, who had been seized on the information of O'Conolly. The point they wanted to establish was the king's having granted a commission for the insurrection, but torture could elicit nothing from their victim essential to their purpose, "He had been told that application was to be made to the king for a commission, he had been promised that such a commission should be produced, but he had never seen any commission." Such was the substance of his answers.

Sir John Read was next subjected to the horrid ordeal of fidelity. He had been chosen by the inhabitants of the pale on their taking arms to be the bearer of their justification to the king, but had been treacherously seized and imprisoned, his letters taken from him and carefully suppressed, and now he was importuned on the rack with interrogations tending to make him criminate his royal master. But Sir John Read was nobly firm, and disappointed his malicious torturers. They were not however yet discouraged. Patrick Barewal was their next victim, venerable in age, respectable in character. His only guilt, that he had attended the meeting at the Hill of Crofty, and had been appointed by the insurgents to a command. But he had never acted or united

with the rebels. He endured the torture with so steady an avowal of his innocence, and such abundant evidence was offered in his favour that the justices were almost put to shame for their cruelty. In order to make some amends to their wretched victim, he was permitted to reside in Dublin, and his estate was protected from the general havoc. Unable in this way to criminate the king, the popular partisans determined to derive some advantages from them, by plausibly spreading rumours abroad that the examination of the prisoners contained intelligence of great moment, highly reflecting on the king's honour. All, however, was vague insinuation, no particulars were divulged. His secretary applied to the lords justices for copies of those examinations for the king's perusal, but without avail, they were in the hands of his enemies, who forbore to communicate them to the individual so much interested. And such was the violence, the prejudice and the credulity of the misguided people, and so obtuse was become their moral perception that they perceived not that this reserve was really a refutation of the charges brought against the king as having instigated the rebellion. The king, most justly indignant at these circumstances, resolved himself to pass over to Ireland, and accordingly by a message to both houses, he declared his intention of going with all convenient speed to that country to chastise the rebels, of raising a guard for his person, and even of selling or pledging his parks and houses if necessary for this service.

The lords justices were, as may be supposed, highly alarmed at this proposed royal visit. They sent the most discouraging accounts of the distressed state of the country, intimating unequivocally that the king could not appear with personal safety, comfort to his subjects, or terror to

his enemies. But these objections would probably have been unheeded by Charles in his eager wish of effecting his purposes, had not a peremptory negative been given to his design, by the power at home which enthralled him, and with insulting menaces insisted that his design should be relinquished, thus the unhappy Charles was compelled to yield to a power he could not resist. This was a cruel disappointment to the pale whose last hopes of an equitable accommodation with government, rested upon the presence of their monarch. They had precipitately involved themselves in the horrors and guilt of rebellion. All retreat was rendered desperate by the treatment of those who had surrendered. The apparent object of the Irish government and the English parliament was the extermination of the Catholics, their estates were already allotted to their conquerors, so that themselves and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin. Lord Gormanston was so deeply affected by the melancholy state into which he had reduced himself, his family, and his friends, that grief soon put a period to his life. His associates lost to all hope, grew desperate and violent, abandoning all thoughts of treaty or pardon, they became a band of those wretched beings who having cast off the world's friendship, and the world's law, consider themselves also in a state of moral outlawry, and sunk into that misery which is too often the parent of moral evil. Soon after this, the rebel forces were defeated by the Earl of Ormond; an account of this action, called the battle of Kilrush, was transmitted to the English commons, whose encomiums on the victorious general were speedily followed by an order that five hundred pounds should be expended on a jewel as a token of their satisfaction, and that the lords should be

requested to unite with them in a petition to the king that he would be pleased to confer on the earl the honour of the garter. Every part of Ireland was the theatre of a wasting war carried on in the usual guerilla mode of the Irish, the insurgents following their respective leaders without union, command, direction or scheme of general resistance, enterprise or good.

In Leinster the loyalists were harassed by detached parties of rebels who ravaged their possessions and besieged their castles. The arrival of some succours encouraged the chief governors to make some effort to repress these outrages, one of which we shall relate. The Lady Offaly had been summoned by the rebels to give up her castle. Her answer to this summons was worthy of a daughter of the house of Kildare; "I received your letter wherein you threaten to sack my castle by his majesty's authority, I am, and ever have been a loyal subject and a good neighbour among you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety. And therefore my resolution is, that being free from offending his majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, and will do my best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God. Though I have been, and still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me." LETTICE OFFALY.

This heroic female was relieved in the domain she so resolutely determined to defend, and others were rendered the like succour, but the general circumstances of the army were most distressing. The most common necessaries of life were not to be procured, the country had been rendered a barren waste by the wild rage of the Irish.

Every petty detachment from England served to aggravate the distress by lessening the scanty supply of provision. Officers clamoured for their arrears of pay, the men without pay or cloathing, weakened by unwholesome diet, inclement seasons, exposure to damp, and worn with fatiguing marches, daily sank under these accumulated miseries. The more robust grew mutinous, and quarrels continually arose between them and the new comers. Melancholy is the reflection, that two nations should thus by their civil and religious animosities, make desolate that fertile land which in peace and union might so amply have furnished sustenance for both. Without pay it was utterly impossible to keep the army within any bounds of discipline, in this crisis of affairs an Irish parliament sat for three days only in Dublin. The number of members was necessarily inconsiderable, as many were in actual rebellion, and as many excluded themselves by refusing to take the required oath of supremacy. Yet those who did assemble were furious in their invectives against the Romish party, declared for a rigorous execution of the penal statutes, urging both to the king and English parliament the absolute necessity of new and severe laws against recusants. As might be expected, the English parliament echoed these sentiments. The bills were prepared for transmission, and the utmost vengeance declared against popery. The cord being thus drawn to its extreme tension, it was not surprising that it should break. The insurgents grew if possible more desperate, and by the infamous conduct of government were suffered to collect and increase their force, to possess stations of strength and consequence, and in some places to confine the English within narrow bounds, while they themselves ranged at large with free possession of the

open country. To render them more formidable, Owen O'Nial, who had been so long and anxiously expected, at length arrived in Donnegal with a supply of arms and ammunition and accompanied by one hundred officers. Owen O'Nial was well adapted for the service of his country at this juncture. He had served with high reputation in the imperial and Spanish armies. Experience had formed him to an able and skilful soldier, quick in discerning his advantages, diligent and prompt in improving them, less enterprizing than circumspect, possessing a genius peculiarly suited to defence, and in the methods of protracting a war, all qualities most especially useful in that service which his country demanded of him. His prudence, his temperance, his caution and knowledge of the world formed a striking contrast to the rudeness, the ignorance, the intemperance, levity and inexperience of his relative, the brutal Sir Phelim; the most undiscerning must mark the superiority of the one over the other, and to the secret mortification of Sir Phelim, Owen O'Nial was unanimously declared by the northern Irish the leader of their confederacy. The generous and noble minded Owen regarded with a horror which he freely confessed, the barbarities exercised by Sir Phelim and his brutal followers, and he declared that he would unite with the English rather than suffer the actors of such enormities to escape their just punishment. In the meantime the English parliament entered into a contract with the Scots for sending an army of ten thousand men into Ireland, and in order to engage them to compliance, gave a promise of pay, and agreed to put Carrickfergus into their hands, and to invest their general with an authority independent of the English parliament. After many delays these troops were sent to their destination, and while

they remained, were so far useful, that they diverted the force of the rebels, and protected the small remnants of the British planters in the north. Except this controul over the Scots, all the measures of parliament tended rather to the injury than the good of the protestant cause in Ireland. By continuing their persecution and violent menaces against priests and papists, they confirmed the Catholics in rebellion, and cut off all hopes of accommodation, indulgence, or toleration. By disposing beforehand of the Irish forfeitures, they rendered all desperate, and seemed to threaten the total extirpation of the natives. A thousand acres for instance were given to every one that subscribed two hundred pounds, in Ulster. In Connaught the same tract for three hundred and fifty, and in Munster, four hundred and fifty.

To increase the confidence of the rebels which had been justly raised by the arrival of Owen O'Nial, a second and even more important embarkation was made for their support at Dunkirk. No less than fourteen vessels laden with every requisite for warfare arrived, together with a considerable number of Irish officers and veteran soldiers, discharged from the French service by Richelieu, all amply provided and assured of further succours. The English were now justly alarmed, as the rebels being now masters of the sea, could intercept any relief, and of course the capital appeared at their mercy. They naturally imagined immediate operations would take place, furnished as they were with every necessary for war. But the Irish were for the present engaged in the execution of a scheme long since concerted to give the form of authority to their procedures and to unite their associates in the different provinces, so as to ensure general obedience and

submission. These were the very desiderata which were to render them truly formidable. The authority of their clergy had been already employed. The Catholic prelate first summoned his clergy to a synod; therein it was declared, that the war of the Irish was lawful and *pious*, and all persons were exhorted to unite in the righteous cause. This, however, was not deemed sufficient authority, a general synod was therefore convened of all the Romish clergy throughout Ireland, which sat at Kilkenny.

The acts of this numerous assembly were many, and most solemn. They opened the business of their meeting, by declaring the war maintained by the Catholics against sectaries and puritans, for the defence of the Catholic religion, the royal prerogative, the honour and the safety of the queen and royal issue, the conservation of the rights and privileges, the liberties of Ireland, and of themselves as individuals, to be just, meritorious, and lawful. They directed that all their confederates should be united by an oath of association, and denounced sentence of excommunication on all who should refuse to take it, against all neuters, all who assisted the enemy, all who should invade the possessions of any Catholic, or any Irish Protestant, *not adversary to their cause.* They forbade all distinctions and comparisons between the old and new Irish, directed that exact registers be kept in every province of the cruelties and murders committed by the puritans, for under this denomination they included all those who opposed them, and denounced their ecclesiastical censures on those of their communion, who should commit the like excesses. They also ordained that provincial councils should be formed, composed of clergy and laity, and a general one also, to which the others should be

subordinate, that embassies should be sent to foreign potentates, soliciting aid to their cause.

Such were the principal acts of the clergy. The nobility and gentry then resident at Kilkenny united with them in framing the oath of association, in naming the members of the supreme council, of which Lord Mountgarret was chosen president, and in appointing a general assembly of the whole nation to meet in that city, in the ensuing month, (October 1642.)

The period of this convention had arrived, when the foreign succours gave animation to the cause. The popish prelates, clergy, and lords, popish deputies from the principal counties and towns of every province, assembled as agreed at Kilkenny. The concourse was great and imposing. With well affected humility they disclaimed all wish of having their assembly considered as a parliament, but as a general meeting to confer on their affairs, until his majesty could in his wisdom settle the present troubles. It was, however, modelled according to a parliament in every respect, consisting of two houses, one of temporal peers and prelates, the other of representatives, deputed by counties and towns. Both sat in the same chamber. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, took his place bare-headed on a stool, as a substitute for the judges; and Nicholas Plunket, another distinguished partisan of the recusant faction, was appointed speaker. The Lords had a place of retirement for their consultations, and Darcy was the medium of their communication to the commons. Those of the clergy who were not admitted to sit among the lords, formed a convocation, in which they treated of ecclesiastical affairs. In the first place, this assembly declared their firm resolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the Romish Church. The common

law of England and statutes of Ireland they professed to accept as their note of government, so far as they were not contrary to the Roman religion, or inconsistent with the liberties of Ireland. They commanded all persons to bear faith and loyalty to the king, but renounced the authority of his Irish government, formed as it was of "a malignant party, and in compliance with their confederates, the malignant party in England." The administration of public justice they assumed to themselves. A council was assigned to each county, consisting of twelve persons, who were to transact all local affairs. From these there was an appeal to the provincial councils, who were to meet four times in a year, and from these again there was an appeal to the *supreme council of the confederated Catholics of Ireland*, consisting of twenty-four persons, chosen by the general convention. This council was to direct every affair relative to the interest of the confederacy, and for its greater honour and security, a guard was assigned to the assembly, of five hundred foot and two hundred horse. As this council had been adopted from the ecclesiastical synod, so also was the oath of association taken from their form, except in one part only, in which the clergy bound their votaries never to consent to peace, until the church should be again amply invested not only with all its powers and privileges, its splendour and magnificence, but also with all its ancient possessions, which no zeal for religion could induce the present possessors to restore. Thus they seemed to render the war interminable. The assembly were contented with directing that all persons should swear allegiance to the king, engage to defend his prerogative, the power and privilege of the parliament of Ireland, the fundamental laws, together with the free exercise of

the Roman Catholic religion, to obey the orders of the supreme council, to seek for no pardon or protection, without the consent of the major part of the council, and to prosecute and maintain the common cause.

The system of government being thus adjusted, the provincial generals were next chosen; Owen O'Nial was appointed for Ulster. They had scarcely sworn to maintain the king's prerogative, when they violated it in a material point, by assuming a power of regulating the coin, and raising its value. Ambassadors were sent to foreign powers, to solicit succours, and petitions were prepared to be sent to the king and queen, with a representation of the grievances which had urged their confederacy. But with all this apparent state and authority, the confederation possessed within itself the principles of dissension and weakness. It is seldom that the first leaders of an insurrection preserve their power: they are rather doomed to excite the movement, by which they are the first overwhelmed, and to develope the principles by which they are condemned. Thus the more moderate among the confederates now affected to condemn the enormities which had disgraced the original insurrection. Hence in their present disposal of offices, several of the first conspirators were purposely neglected: Sir Phelim O'Nial was indignant and mortified, and even Roger Moore, whose temper was more generous, was greatly disappointed when he found his zealous services unnoticed and unrewarded, for no man ever descended without regret from a rank which placed him superior to other men—at least, no ambitious man. Possessing spirit, abilities, and activity, Moore, in disgust, might have proved a formidable malcontent to the confederacy; but, for the present, he was soothed

and flattered, and his death, which occurred not long after the convention, was an incident probably not regretted by those to whom he might have proved troublesome. They had flattered themselves that the noble-minded Clanricarde would have united with them, but they had the mortification to find him reject their most urgent overtures, unshaken in his loyalty alike by their solicitations, menaces, and excommunications of their clergy. Their disappointment, however, was in a degree made up, by the acquisition of an associate of dignity and consequence, Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven, and Baron Audley of England, who, urged by indignation and disgust at the injuries he had experienced from the government, was readily persuaded to unite with the confederates.

In the meantime, the lords justices, instead of acting against the public enemy, seemed solely intent on embarrassing and mortifying those attached to the king. The civil war in England had been declared, and his authority was despised by the governors of Ireland, from the moment the sword was unsheathed. Every rumour disadvantageous to the devoted Charles, was industriously propagated. The pulpit was employed, as in England, as an engine of state, and the medium of calumny, to inflame the popular mind; and the most absurd illiterate brawlers, encouraged by those in power, vented their crude decisions on the unhappy contest between the king and his people. It was a point of especial care with the lords justices and their intriguing party, that no accounts of Ireland should be transmitted to England, but through the deceitful medium of their representations. But this deceptive policy was at length defeated by the spirited conduct of the loyalist officers, who, after various difficul-

ties thrown in their way by government, succeeded in conveying an address to the king, wherein they detailed the distresses to which they were subjected, by the mal-administration of the government, and stated many circumstances respecting the governors, their principles, procedures, and connexions. To enter into a detail of events that followed, would be both tedious and unnecessary, arising as they solely did from the culpable conduct and political bias of the chief governors, and the firm spirit and success of the confederates, while the noble spirit of the Marquis of Ormond shines forth in the manifold difficulties of his situation. We shall therefore briefly say, that the chief justices, with several who favoured their party, were, by the instance of Ormond, removed from their situations, and their place supplied by others better affected to the royal interest. The king, as he had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor provisions to spare from his own urgent wants, in order to carry on the war in Ireland, resolved to embrace an expedient which might at once relieve the necessities of the Irish Protestants, and contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England, viz.: a truce with the rebels; by this he trusted his Irish subjects would be enabled to provide for their own support, and even to grant him some aid. But as a treaty with a people so odious for their religion, and the enormities which had disgraced them might, it was too probable, be represented in invidious colours by his enemies, and be a pretext to renew all those calumnies with which he had heretofore been loaded, it was necessary to proceed with extreme caution in conducting the measure. Accordingly the king gave orders to Ormond and the justices, to conclude a cessation of arms, for a year, with the council of Kilkenny, by whom

the Irish were now governed, and to leave both parties in possession of their present advantages. Whatever might have been the primary motives of the king in desiring this truce, involved as he was in a desperate civil war, which obliged him to seek resources from every quarter, yet the melancholy plea of necessity never could be urged with greater force, for the country was in a desperate situation. The affair of the treaty thus rendered almost unavoidable, was obviously one of great delicacy, requiring equal address and caution. The honour of the king demanded that the overtures should come from the confederates, who had formerly expressed a wish that hostilities might be suspended, that they might present their grievances, and prepare a way to settle the distractions of the kingdom. The Marquis of Ormond therefore employed agents, to confer with the supreme council at Kilkenny, who finally agreed to a cessation of twelve months, on certain *conditions*, to be proposed by their agents to Ormond; and they were appointed to meet him accordingly, at Castle Martyr, in the county of Kildare. Ormond received them with a stately dignity, and examined their propositions with the freedom of a superior. They demanded that the exercise of their government should continue during the cessation, and that a free parliament, admitting Catholics, should be convened. These demands were rejected. Other demands Ormond thought derogatory to the royal interest, and supposing the high tone of the confederates was produced by their military successes, he determined for a while to suspend the negociation, in the hope of obtaining some advantages which would render them more complying. But the necessities of the king soon obliged a renewal, although under the greatest disadvantages of con-

cluding it favourably to the royal interests, the Irish at the time having a manifest superiority over the loyalists. Nor were the assembly insensible to these favourable circumstances, which were pressed upon them more particularly by their vigilant clergy. Peter Scarampi, a father of the congregation of the oratory,* appeared at Kilkenny, as minister from the pope. He was the bearer of money and military supplies to the rebels, letters from the holy see to the supreme council, the provincial generals, and the Romish prelates, and above all, a bull, granting a general jubilee, and plenary absolution to those who had taken up arms for the Catholic faith. The old Irish crowded about the Romish agent, with lively emotions of attachment. He taught them to regard their brethren of the English race as impious temporisers, and betrayers of the faith; to regard with horror any treaty, in which was no express stipulation for the free, public, and splendid exercise of the Romish worship. He insisted on the present flourishing state of their affairs, the distresses of the English, the certain support from foreign powers, if the confederates should persevere and not betray their glorious cause in so critical a juncture, and warmly remonstrated against supplying the king with money, assuredly to be employed against themselves. He concluded by urging his partisans to move,

* The fathers of the oratory of St. John. This order, both in the nature of its rules, and design of establishment, seems in direct opposition to that of the Jesuits. It was founded 1613, and has produced a number of persons eminent for piety, learning, and eloquence; it still even retains its reputation. They are not properly religieux, being bound by no vows, their institution being merely sacerdotal, or ecclesiastical. From the suppression of the Jesuits, the education of youth was intrusted principally to the Fathers of the Oratory.

that the treaty of cessation should be deferred, until the pope could be consulted, and had given his directions in an affair of such moment as religion. Fortunately for the fate of the treaty, there were moderate and sagacious individuals among the Catholics, who by no means were disposed to rest implicitly on the advice of this sacerdotal minister. Amongst these, the Earl of Clanricarde was earnest in his remonstrances to his friends not to reject this favourable opportunity of preserving themselves and their country; and Lord Castlehaven was also indefatigable in inspiring his associates with sentiments of moderation and peace. Happily their influence prevailed over the persuasions of Scarampi, although much contest and debate marked the discussion of the measure.

All preliminaries being at length adjusted, the Irish finally agreed to grant the king thirty thousand pounds, one half in money, to be paid at several periods, the other moiety in cattle. When the articles were concluded, they were communicated in form to all the principal lords, some of the privy council, and officers of the army who had attended, and assisted in the treaty. These all subscribed a declaration, that considering the circumstances of the kingdom, they believed it necessary, for his majesty's honour and service, that a cessation should be finally concluded on the articles now laid before them. On the 15th of September the treaty was signed by the marquis and the Irish commissioners. It received also the ratification of the justices and council, and was then notified, by proclamation, to the whole kingdom. It was received with equal discontent and clamour in both kingdoms. The parliament, whose pleasure it was to condemn

every measure adopted by the loyal party, and who exulted in every opportunity of reproaching their ill-fated sovereign with his favour to the Irish papists, exclaimed loudly against the cessation; and among other reasons upon which they grounded their condemnation, was the divine vengeance which England might justly dread for tolerating anti-christian idolatry, on pretence of civil contracts, and political agreements. Thus religion, though every day rendered subservient to their towering ambition, was now supposed too sacred to be yielded up to the temporal interests or safety of nations.

The true ground of this hypocritical zeal, and severe condemnation, was to be found, however, in their chagrin in being by the treaty deprived of their popular pretence for raising money to support their own contest. Candour, however, demands us to add, that the objections of many might be grounded in upright and patriot principles, although erring in judgment, and misguided by credulity.

The people of England, generally speaking, were quite indifferent to Irish affairs, and had neither the disposition nor the curiosity to inquire into the accuracy of any accounts received from thence. The vague accounts respecting the barbarities of the rebels, were easily extended to the character of the whole Catholic population, and all were alike held in detestation and abhorrence. Of course, when the concessions admitted were represented through the medium of self-interested politicians, the condescensions shown by the royal party were deemed scandalous and weak. Some even regarded them as a departure from those solemn protestations which Charles had repeatedly made against popery, and declared, that

after such a proof of his insincerity, they could no longer support his cause.

Thus did a strange fatality seem to attend every measure of this unhappy branch of the unfortunate house of Stuart.

CHAPTER XVII.

Troops sent to England—Popular clamour against the measure—Unhappy situation of the devoted Charles—Difficulties attending the administration of Ormond—Want of faith in the confederates—Further cause of disunion and distress—The covenant offered—Entered into with ardor by the troops—The popular contagion rapidly spreads—Instance of versatility—The Scotch general Monroe takes the covenant at Carrickfergus—Agreement of the Scotch and English troops—Rebels make propositions to Ormond—He is perplexed—Demands of the commissioners at Oxford—Animosities prevent all final adjustment—Insolent language of the protestants—Agents of the council arrive—Condescension of Charles—He directs Ormond to make peace—Difficulty of the commission—He commences a treaty with the confederates—Perplexities—Proceedings suspended—M'Mahon and Macguire executed—Instability of the king—Perplexity of Ormond—He petitions to be removed—Consent not given—Irish active in strengthening their confederacy—Procrastination of the confederates—Internal weakness of the confederacy—Impatience of the king and insincere conduct—Earl of Glamorgan—Letter from Charles to Glamorgan—His mission to Ireland—His reception—John Rinuncini sent as nuncio by the pope—His character—Articles of his mission—Repeal of penal statutes urged—Opposition to the treaty—Battle of Naseby encourages the confederates to persevere in opposition—They rise in their demands—Unhappy situation of the king—Disclosure of instruction enrages the confederates—It is shewn in their opposition to Ormond—Glamorgan received with satisfaction—Commission empowering him to treat with the confederates—Objections of the nuncio—Treaty with Glamorgan concluded—Its stipulations—Levies made for the royal service—Ormond's treaty—Perplexed situation of Charles.

A. D. 1643.

After this cessation of arms there was little occasion as well as no means of subsisting the army in Ireland. The king therefore directed the

Marquis of Ormond, who was firmly devoted to his unfortunate master, to send over considerable bodies of it to England. These troops were Protestants, many of them English by birth, who considered the return to their native country as a happy escape from the calamities they had endured in Ireland. Yet scarcely had they landed, than rumours were spread, that the Irish rebels, still reeking with the blood of Protestants, were now arrived at the coast, impatient to extend their ravages through England; and others averred, that the Irish rebels were now to join the popish armies of the king and queen, and in conjunction with these associates, to settle the religion and liberties of England.

Most of these forces continued faithfully in the royal cause; but some few, having imbibed in Ireland strong prejudices against the Catholics, and hearing the king's party universally reproached with popery, deserted to the parliament's army.

Thus anxiously and precariously did the unhappy Charles sit upon a throne continually tottering under him. Attacked on all sides by enemies, numerous, violent, and implacable, and from the shock of the opposite pretensions of the crown and parliament, rendered more violent by religious animosity, factious convulsions and disorder necessarily arose, which finally precipitated the monarch from his anxious elevation. It had been debated, if Ormond should not be recalled to England to command the Irish troops; but affairs in Ireland so imperiously demanded his presence, that he was continued there under the title of lord lieutenant, the duties of which he fulfilled with that enthusiastic loyalty and devoted attachment to his royal master, which distinguished him. These high qualities were drawn abundantly to view, by the difficulties of his si-

tuation. The confederates infringed the articles of cessation, and committed various outrages which were too often recriminated by the English. The subsidies they had agreed to pay were irregularly and slowly remitted. They refused to send any forces into England. In vain did Ormond remonstrate, urge, and threaten; the confederates were obstinate, believing that the pressing necessities of the king would oblige him to purchase their assistance by important and liberal concessions, they would not therefore even allow arms or ammunition to be purchased in their quarters for the royal service.

At length the Earl of Antrim, who had undertaken the service with much difficulty, raised two thousand men for the royal cause, and Charles was still amused by various pretences of receiving further aid. But a period was now arriving, when the already almost overwhelming perplexities of devoted Ireland were to be augmented by religion, or rather that delusive and destructive spirit, which had usurped her meek and holy name.

The Scottish regiments, under Monroe, which had been sent to repel the rebels in Ulster, were at this period so eager for the covenant by which their countrymen had engaged themselves, that they actually sent to Scotland for a copy of that famous engagement.* The English regiments,

* This covenant consisted in an absolute renunciation of popery, and contained many invectives, fitted highly to inflame the minds of men against their fellow-beings, holding different sentiments from their own. These were followed by a bond of union, whereby the subscribers engaged most solemnly to resist all religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatsoever; and all this for the greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country. None but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, it was thought, would refuse to engage themselves in so pious and salutary a combination.

under Ormond, were better affected to the royal cause; but their necessities were urgent, and their hopes of relief resting on the parliament, urged them to an engagement which would recommend them to its favour. Ormond saw with unfeigned sorrow the bias of their minds, and advised their colonels not to act precipitately, to give themselves time to consider, and to receive directions from the state. He represented the iniquity of the covenant, and furnished them with a proclamation, issued by the Irish government, forbidding all persons from tendering or accepting it. But so great were their apprehensions of the spirit of the Scottish forces, against all who opposed the covenant, and the displeasure of parliament, that they declined to publish this proclamation to their troops. At length a supply of money, cloathing, and provision was remitted from Scotland, together with four ministers of the kirk, to tender and enforce the covenant. These missionary priests passed with indefatigable zeal through every parish in the counties of Down and Antrim, and themselves and doctrines were every where received with ardour. All ranks and conditions flocked around them, contending who should first have the glory of being found worthy to be engaged in the godly cause, and entering a combination so essential, they were taught, to the salvation of their souls. The prohibitions and menaces, the proclamations of government against the covenant, only served to increase the general fervour to engage in it. Those soldiers who had secretly taken it, now emboldened by numbers, openly avowed their engagement, in defiance of their officers. They who refused to be united by

Of course, those who withstood it were objects of general odium, amounting to proscription.

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this godly vow, were regarded as impious wretches unworthy of the rights of humanity, and many in consequence, were actually denied by the covenanters the common necessaries of life. All, even those who had ever evinced the utmost loyalty, now caught the popular contagion. It seemed like the working of a spell. Audley Mervin inveighed with such vehemence against the covenant, in the parliament of Dublin, expressed such loyalty to the king, and declaimed so copiously against the commons of England, and their neglect of Ireland, that Ormond deemed him a proper person to be intrusted with the government of Derry; yet this man had scarcely entered on his new responsible office, when he was prevailed on to take that very engagement, which had been the object of his severe censure. This revolution of opinion cannot otherwise be accounted for, than as being produced by that tumult of passion, ever accompanying the spirit of party. There is a moment of enjoyment in all tumultuous passions, the individual may then be considered in a delirium, which gives, in a moral sense, that pleasure which arises from strong excited feeling, and elevation of thought. The contending opinions, prejudices, and prepossessions of the period we are reviewing, were well calculated to multiply instances of this mental inebriation.

The Scotch general, Monroe, had taken the covenant with great solemnity, in the church of Carrickfergus. He affected, however, the greatest moderation, leaving it entirely to the kirk ministers, by pious exhortations, to prevail, without attempting any violence against those who refused the engagement. No one, however, believed this moderation was sincere. The English officers more especially doubted it, every day expecting from the parliament an order to impose the cove-

nant by force, and their apprehensions were soon confirmed, when a commission from the English houses, under their broad seal, was received by Monroe, empowering him in their name and authority to carry on the war against all the enemies of the covenanted party. Hostilities were in consequence commenced; but the circumstances of each party rendering an amicable agreement desirable, a stipulation was soon formed and subscribed, whereby the English were assured they would not be required to take any oath contrary to their consciences, until they should first address themselves to the English parliament, representing their reasons and scruples; and further, that their regiments should be furnished with the same provisions, and have the same privileges with the Scots. On these conditions they engaged to unite with Monroe, in a vigorous prosecution of the Irish rebels, unless his majesty's command should hereafter contradict any further proceeding. The rebels became alarmed; as usual they were divided by frivolous competitions; their forces were scattered. They made private overtures to Ormond, that he would accept the supreme command of all their forces, and march against the stubborn northerns, with the whole united power of the royalists, for in this party they constantly included themselves. At the same time, they required that he should proclaim the Scots rebels, in consequence of their infraction of the cessation.

It is obvious that the honourable spirit of Ormond could not yield to these proposals and requisitions; yet it was dangerous, he knew, to exasperate the Irish, as his hopes of subsistence depended upon them, and if provoked, they might reduce him to sudden famine.

In this perplexity, Ormond was obliged to temporise and amuse; and without giving any

explicit replies, he made propositions which, with discussions and replies, occupied the time till it was found that Monroe was really no ways inclined to prosecute the war. While the marquis was thus occupied with the wants and distresses of the state, and was contending with the arrogance of the popish confederates, the virulence of the covenanters, and other trying circumstances of his situation, Oxford was the scene of Irish negociation; but the commissioners were found so extravagant and intractable, that the conference was upon the point of closing, without effecting any thing. At length they withdrew some of their obnoxious propositions, and the royal commissioners were enabled to listen to them, the king being extremely solicitous for a peaceable adjustment of affairs, as opening a prospect of aid from Ireland, if effected. Of these moderated demands, the most important were, the freedom of their religion, by a repeal of all penal statutes; a free parliament; suspension of Poynings' law, during its session; the vacating of all indictments, attainders, and outlawries, in prejudice of Irish Catholics; the establishment of an inn of court, and seminaries of education in Ireland, for the benefit of Catholic subjects; a free and indifferent appointment of all Irish natives, without exception, to places of trust and honour; that no persons, not estated and resident in Ireland, should sit and vote in the parliament of the realm; that no chief governor should be continued above three years, and that during his government he should be disqualified to purchase any lands in the kingdom, except from the king. On the grant of these, and many lesser propositions, they declared their readiness to devote their lives and fortunes to the king's service, and particularly to contribute ten thou-

sand men, towards suppressing the unnatural rebellion in England.

But however desirous and willing Charles was to make these proposals the basis of a treaty of peace, and however urgently he might require its fulfilment, his hopes and wishes were retarded in their accomplishment, by the contention of Irish parties, popish and protestant, both obstinate, irritated, violent, and alike unreasonable in their demands. The protestant party required the most rigorous execution of the penalties against recusancy, that the usurped power of the confederates should be dissolved, their whole party disarmed, compelled to repair all damages sustained by protestants, and brought to condign punishment for their offences, without any act of oblivion, release, or discharge; that the oath of supremacy should be strictly and universally imposed on all magistrates, and that all that refused should be incapable of sitting in parliament, in which nothing should be attempted contrary to the law of Poynings, the bulwark of the royal power, and the protection of the protestant subjects of Ireland.

These propositions were made in a manner so peremptory, as to astonish the king and his ministers, albeit they were not unused to the language. It was obvious that they could not be acceded to in the existing state of things, and they were reminded that they could not expect compliance. They replied, they were entirely ignorant of the king's circumstances, they were but to propose the sentiments of his good subjects, and to prove their allegations; they thought it better that the protestants should even abandon Ireland, than make a destructive peace; they intimated, with ill-concealed insolence, that the king had nothing more to do than to submit to the terms of peace proposed by the English parlia-

ment; and there then would be no want of supplies for the Irish war.

In the meantime the commissioners from the Irish council, whom Charles had expressed a wish should be deputed to confer upon the treaty, had so much delayed their mission, that the protestant deputies had thus preceded them. At length they also arrived. The propositions of the protestants were of course condemned in toto, but they remained obstinate. The unfortunate Charles thus finding himself enclosed with difficulties on every side, from which he could not escape, with his mind naturally biassed towards the Catholic cause, as that of his queen who possessed his devoted, undivided love; pressed down by his necessities, and finding no human source of relief but from Ireland in the event of a peace with his rebellious subjects in that kingdom, was certainly inclined to treat with the agents from the council, and by no means to yield to the peremptory demands of those who it was evident wished to obstruct a peace on any terms. He therefore treated the former with particular attention, and with that courtesy which was equally the dictate of his native feelings, and the result of those misfortunes which had mellowed them into gentleness. To their proposition for the repeal of the penal statutes, he replied that those statutes had never been rigorously executed, so that his recusant subjects should have no reason to complain that they were treated with less moderation than heretofore, and that such of them as manifested affection for his service should receive such marks of his favour, as would evidence his regard and consideration of them. The agents won by the condescension of the monarch, treated him with the utmost deference and respect. They acknowledged that Charles situated as he was, could not

be expected to make further concessions, and trusted the general assembly would admit it, by moderating their demands, though they had not present authority to recede from them. Charles dismissed them with a pathetic admonition to consider his circumstances and their own. This address was more the dictate of wounded and harassed feeling, and a deep sense of present difficulty and prospective evil, than consistent with that sincerity and honour which should never depart from the breast of him who holds in his hands the happiness and well being of thousands. The terms of it were equivocal, and tending to inspire those he addressed with hopes utterly inconsistent with many former solemn declarations. The events of this period may indeed as they referred to the king and his negociation with his Irish subjects, be regarded as one of those trials of human integrity and virtue from which few indeed came forth pure and unspotted.

Environed by enemies, eager to avail themselves of any circumstance to render him odious in popular estimation, fearful of offending and alienating his own party, he could not decide, and his ministers would not advise him, Charles therefore resolved to remove the onus from himself, and to direct the Marquis of Ormond to make a full peace with his Catholic subjects of Ireland, on such conditions as his own judgment should dictate for the public welfare, and the advantage of the royal cause. Ormond felt the full difficulty of such an important commission. He was to effect what the king and his ministers dare not venture to adjust. He was to hazard that provocation they shrank from. Should he make concessions to the popish party his authority only delegated, might be opposed or questioned, he might be accused of culpable partiality to his

countrymen, and his kinsmen, many of whom were among the confederates. Should he refuse, these very individuals would most probably reproach him as an inveterate enemy to them and his country. He had above all to meet the formidable power and inveteracy of the bigoted English parliament, whose vengeance he was sure to meet if he offended their passions or their prejudices, while he well knew the royal power was far too weak to protect him. To add to the difficulty of his situation, he was told he was to expect no instructions, but was to act in the delicate transaction upon his own judgment and responsibility, as the king and his ministers declined taking any part in it. The difficulties of the government were at this time great and manifold, without the additional embarrassment of this important transaction. Ormond, however, thus completely thrown upon the energies of his own mind, found them not unfaithful to the summons. With that spirit of decision, without which, the highest faculties of man are rendered nugatory, Ormond commenced his treaty with the confederates. Their commissioners attended him at Dublin, and it was first agreed that the cessation should be prolonged. Conferences respecting peace, however, proved perplexing. The Irish conscious of their own power, and aware of the necessities of the king, were elevated with the hope that they would oblige the unfortunate monarch to make important concessions to them. In these hopes they were greatly encouraged by their clergy, who from their removal to Dublin had ample opportunity to exert their influence. One of this order, Fleming, the Romish archbishop of Dublin, had been nominated one of the commissioners to attend the lord lieutenant, Ormond refused to confer with him. This refusal we think was in-

judicious, but reasons which have not transpired might have justified the exclusion. Public characters were however not necessary to enforce their authority, which seems to have borne down all the efforts of the more temperate and conciliating of their party. The consequence was, that the propositions of the confederates were of a nature to which Ormond could not accede, and the treaty was adjourned from October to January, and in consequence, the agents appointed to attend the king with the result, having been taken prisoners in the vessel which conveyed them, further proceedings were suspended till April, 1645. About this period Mac Mahon and Macguire were condemned and executed in London. They had remained two years in the tower, had then escaped, were retaken and immediately brought to their trial. In this interval the unhappy Charles evidenced that instability which was the source of so many of his misfortunes, and that indulgence to the Catholics which rendered him so odious to his enemies. The confederate Catholics carried on a sort of private negociation with him by their agents Lord Muskerry, Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Browne. They magnified their power and disposition to support him, and sinking under the power of his enemies he caught at the hope, and was impatient to purchase their alliance at any price. Continually becoming more complying to their demands, when the new projected model of the parliamentary army, threatened momentous consequences to him, he not only empowered but commanded Ormond to make peace with the Irish. "Whatever it cost," he writes, "so that my Protestant subjects may be secured, and my royal authority preserved in Ireland, you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not to discover your enlargement of power till you

needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary business entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poynings's act for such bills as shall be agreed on there, *and the present taking off the penal laws* against papists by a law will do it, I will not think it a hard bargain, so that they freely and vigorously do engage themselves in my assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour." In the pressure of his calamities, Charles seems to have forgotten that he was both violating conscience and honour, and however he might deceive or reconcile himself to such departure from the immutable obligations of both, Ormond was fully aware of the political danger of compliance. Sincerely attached to the Protestant faith himself, he readily entered into the repugnant feelings of those holding the same opinions, against any concessions towards the popish party, which formed the majority of the Irish population. He was not insensible to the odium he must incur by a measure the king could not avow, and his sagacity readily anticipated the encroachments of the Romish party, when encouraged by such important concessions. His honourable spirit revolted at the disposition of Charles, to recede from those terms he once professed to hold most sacred, and perplexed how to reconcile his feelings with his duty he grew disgusted and impatient in his situation. He accordingly petitioned to be removed from it, professing to apprehend that the confederates expected more from him as their countryman and kinsman than could with safety and propriety be granted.

This relinquishment of a station which Ormond was in every point calculated to fill with advan-

tage to his country, and honour to himself, could not be accepted, and to reconcile him to the burden, Charles conferred upon him every power which remained to him to bestow; amongst these additional powers, Ormond received a commission he had once vainly solicited, for accepting the submissions of such confederates as were inclined to peace upon the terms offered by the king, and for restoring to them their estates and honours. In the meantime the Irish were indefatigable in their endeavour to strengthen their confederacy, so as to maintain a war, or conclude an advantageous peace. One of their ecclesiastics was dispatched to Madrid, and the Secretary of the supreme council was commissioned to address himself to the pope, the Italian princes, and the governor of the low countries, "that they might know what they had to trust to, and what succours they might really depend upon from abroad, and that in case they should be forced *to serve God in holes and corners*, the world might be convinced they had laboured all they could to prevent this misfortune." Their agents were also busily engaged in France, resorting to the Queen of England's court on her retreat to that country. To recommend themselves to foreign powers, and to infuse an idea of their consequence, they transported troops for the service of France, and when Ormond applied to them for assistance in the royal cause, under Montrose in Scotland, they positively declared that they would send no men to the king's assistance, until such a peace should be settled, as might demonstrate that they had really taken arms for the *sake of religion* and to establish it in *full splendour*. Yet these men called themselves loyal, and boasted of affection for their king and his family.

The period now arrived when the negociations

for peace were to be renewed, but the confederates wished to gain time for receiving intelligence from their foreign agents; they therefore proposed that the conferences should be further postponed. Ormond would not consent, and the Irish agents attended him, but not in such number as their powers required. A week was thus gained by them, they then declared that as their general assembly would meet in the middle of May, they would conclude nothing till after that period, confining themselves merely to making their propositions, to debate the matter of them, receiving the answers and promising to prevail on the party to accept them. Ormond strictly attentive to the interest and honour of his royal master, concealed the additional powers he had received, and with a due mixture of dignity and condescension, he conducted the conference, dismissing the agents apparently disposed to peace, who flattered him that their general assembly would very soon decide in favour of the royal interests. But this assembly, although apparently united by the great interests of a common cause, was internally divided by many discordant parties, and by contending motives and passions. The clergy who had the commonalty at their complete devotion, assiduously endeavoured to obstruct all measures of accommodation which might not meet the most extravagant of their wishes. Totally overlooking the real and general interests of their party, they bewildered the minds, and dazzled the perceptions of their ignorant auditors, by descriptions and declamations of the riches, the power, the magnificence attendant on the free exercise of their religion. The impatience of Charles for a conclusion of the treaty, served but to retard its accomplishment. Although he had given such ample, nay uncontrouled power to

Ormond, he rested not quietly in dependence upon his judgment, sagacity, and moderation, to effect his wishes, but suffered himself to be seduced into a vain dependence on secret councils and private agents.

Amongst the most zealous partisans of Charles was Edward Somerset, Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester. Attached to his royal master both by personal affection and principle, he had raised a considerable body of forces for his service. In return, he had been created Earl of Glamorgan. Charles feeling confidence in his zeal, had created him generalissimo of the three armies, English, Irish, and foreign, with power of naming all inferior officers in this imaginary body. Various other powers were also entrusted to him, to which was added the promise of his daughter Elizabeth to the son of this favourite, with a portion of three hundred thousand pounds. Glamorgan was a Roman Catholic, and a most zealous one; he had married Margaret O'Brien, daughter of the late Earl, and sister of the present Earl of Thomond, consequently he had possessions, and was allied to some of the first families in Ireland.

This nobleman, about the close of 1644, upon some real or pretended business, announced his intention of visiting Ireland. Charles recommended him warmly to Ormond, informing him that Glamorgan had engaged to further the peace by all possible means and expressing the utmost confidence in his affection and integrity, intimating, however, at the same time, a doubt of the correctness of his judgment. The confederated Irish, with their characteristic levity, were filled with high expectations from a nobleman of such influence and power connected as he was with them, both by religion and affinity. They affected

to believe that he was sent into Ireland with full authority to hear their demands, and to grant them such conditions as could not be yielded by the intervention of any other agent, nor publicly acknowledged by the king under his present embarrassments, and it is probable that in these conjectures they were not far from the truth. Nor had the Irish less reason to be elevated by the success of their application to the pope. Innocent the tenth had recently been placed in the papal chair, and he was solicitous to distinguish the infancy of his power by some extraordinary marks of his zeal for the interests of religion. He therefore had received Belling the Irish secretary who was an acute and intelligent statesman with particular respect, and in return to the application of the supreme council resolved to send a nuncio into the kingdom, as he considered the present circumstances of it most favourable for the restoration and reestablishment of the Romish faith, and also of reducing the people, if not indeed as entire tributaries to the apostolic see, yet at least subject to the plenitude of the pope's spiritual power. The individual selected for this important mission was well qualified to fulfil the intentions of the holy father. This individual was John Baptista Rinuncini, archbishop of Fermo and a Florentine of noble birth. His address was graceful, his manners conciliating, his conversation eloquent, his habits regular, and even austere, but his soul ambitious, ardent and vain, his religion bigoted, his principles and practices superstitious; and possessing such a portion of spiritual pride as amounted to the fanatical prepossession, that he was the appointed and favoured instrument of providence to effect the entire conversion of the western islands. Rinuncini, among various instructions for promoting the general pur-

poses of his mission, was more especially directed to unite the prelates in a firm declaration of war, until their religion should be completely re-established, and the government entrusted to a *Catholic* lord lieutenant,* thus clearly did the sovereign pontiff indicate his aim at civil as well as spiritual dominion. He was also, if possible, to persuade Ormond to return to the bosom of the church. In his way to Ireland, the nuncio was directed to visit Henrietta, queen of England at Paris, to assure her that religion was the sole object of his mission, and that no designs were entertained against the English royal prerogatives; at the same time he was to persuade her to abandon the intention she had formed of passing over to Ireland, as her presence could only embarrass the religionists, give strength to the neutral party, and be attended with an expense more profitably employed in war. The expectations of the confederates were elevated very high, and their ideas of their own consequence greatly augmented by these circumstances, they received the propositions of the marquis, however, at the time appointed, with so much temper, that nothing seemed to remain an obstacle to peace, but the penal statutes.

The Earl of Clanricarde ever equally loyal and an advocate for conciliation expressed to Ormond his confidence, that if the repeal of those statutes were granted a final accommodation would be the immediate result, and that the Irish would embark cheerfully and warmly in the royal cause. The clergy however entered not into these pacific opinions. They declared that by the oath of association the confederate catholics were bound to stipulate expressly that the churches, abbeys, nunneries, monasteries, and chapels now in their possession should be ever retained. The more

moderate of the party were highly indignant at this declaration, they demanded that it should be retracted, as charging them with perjury. After much altercation the clergy disclaimed the intention of charging the agents of a peace with perjury; but they exclaimed loudly against the impiety of any peace which should not invest their priests with full jurisdiction, together with the right of sitting in parliament. They urged the imminent danger of the holy faith, and conjured their party to combine, to declare and to protest against the present treaty. The assembly although sensible of the culpable intemperance of these ministers of misguided zeal, yet were so far under their influence as to refuse the restoration of the churches to the protestants, and rejected obstinately any compromise for removing this new risen obstacle to a peace. So true is it that the uncomplying spirit of party regards all compromise as a defeat, and rejects it as betraying the weakness of their cause. The fatal battle of Naseby, instead of affecting the confederates with the truth, that the triumph of the king was also the triumph over their cause, ungenerously regarded it as favourable to their pretensions and as affording an opening for extending their demands upon the royal indulgence. Of course their propositions both civil and religious increased in temerity and presumption. Their prelates were to exercise uncontrolled jurisdiction, all penal statutes, whether enacted by Henry or Elizabeth, or in earlier reigns, against provisors, were to be utterly abolished, and all churches in their possession were neither to be expected nor demanded.

In the first shock of his consternation the unfortunate Charles considered that all succours from Ireland would now be useless to his cause; under these impressions he felt the full extent of

that ungenerous advantage the Irish had taken of his falling fortunes, and he directed Ormond, if possible, to procure a further cessation, and rather leave all things to chance than grant such an allowance of popery as must evidently prove destructive to the protestant profession. A little reflection however convinced him that Irish troops might prove useful, and Lord Digby was directed to write to Muskerry one of the agents of the confederacy.

Nothing however was effected when the arrival of Glamorgan in Ireland revived the expectations of the confederates and opened some hope of negociation. Among the papers of the king disclosed at Naseby, were discovered his instructions to Ormond to make a peace at any price. The confederates were enraged at this discovery, they published the letter with severe animadversions on Ormond, whom they affected to consider secretly attached to and in conjunction with the presbyterian council (as they called them.) Offended also at the stateliness of the marquis they found gratification in thwarting his wishes and throwing every obstruction in the way of a peace. In such an acrimonious and resentful temper, they received Glamorgan with peculiar attention and satisfaction, and artfully taking advantage of Charles' communication to Lord Muskerry pretended to consider it as a formal stipulation on the part of the chief governor to concur with the earl in his transactions and to ratify his engagements.

Two commissions from the king were produced by Glamorgan to the confederates, one dated January 1645, the other in the succeeding March. These commissions amply empowered the earl to treat for peace with the confederates, and in virtue of them he entered into private negociations with them, presumptuously anticipating

that he would shortly be distinguished as the leader of a large force and be the instrument of restoring the king to his independence, power, and splendour. The Abbé Scarampi, agent of the pope, remonstrated against negociating for peace publicly with the marquis, and privately with the earl, and more particularly separating the civil from the ecclesiastical articles, yet his objections were not regarded and within one month after the arrival of Glamorgan the treaty was concluded. It was agreed by the earl on the king's part that all Roman catholics should enjoy the public exercise of their religion, possess all the churches not actually enjoyed by protestants, exercise their own jurisdiction, be exempted from that of the protestant clergy, that an act of parliament should be framed to confirm these concessions, and to render catholics capable of all offices of trust and dignity. That the Marquis of Ormond should not disturb the catholics in these or any other articles to which the earl had condescended, until his majesty's pleasure should be signified for confirming them. For the due performance of them Glamorgan engaged the royal word. On the part of the confederates it was stipulated that ten thousand men should be sent to serve the king in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the earl, and officers appointed by the confederates, and that two-thirds of the revenues of the clergy should be assigned for the maintenance of the body for three years. In considering these articles the confederates receded from the demand of their confirmation by act of parliament, upon the pledged honour of Glamorgan that they should be rendered equally secure by other forms. With additional caution also the assembly resolved that their union and oath of association should remain in full force until

the articles should be ratified in parliament. In consequence of this extraordinary treaty immediate levies were made for the royal service, and as it was still necessary to continue the public treaty with the marquis, Glamorgan eager to conduct his troops solicited Ormond to make what concessions he was authorised to grant, and for the rest to appeal to the king. Every civil interest in Ormond's negociation was adjusted without difficulty, but the demands respecting religion amounted to nothing less than a legal establishment, an entire papal jurisdiction. He cautiously opposed these extravagant requisitions. The Irish agents, conscious of the private transactions with Glamorgan, proposed that no clause in the treaty should preclude the catholics from such further graces as his majesty might be pleased to grant. This proposal was accepted by the generous Ormond, and on the arrival of Lord Digby to conciliate the Irish and expedite succours, it was mutually agreed, that the propositions relative to religion, the great and as it would appear insuperable obstacle to an accommodation, should be referred entirely to his majesty. Thus was Charles placed in the very perplexity from which he had sought to emancipate himself by investing Ormond with uncontrolled power, a power which his impatience and necessities had induced him virtually to abrogate by those he conferred on Glamorgan. Peace now seemed on the very eve of settlement: the king anxiously and impatiently expected the stipulated succours, when with the fatality which seemed continually to portend over him, the very means employed for his service, defeated the purposes of the unfortunate monarch.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Measures of Ormond—Moderation of the assembly—Opposition of the clergy—Nuncio arrives in Ireland—His reception and interview with the council—Proofs of Charles' insincerity—The nuncio protests against the meditated peace—Intrigues with Glamorgan—Gains ascendancy over him—Unforeseen discovery—Gives the enemies of Charles advantage over him—Glamorgan charged by Lord Digby and imprisoned—Is shortly liberated and commissioned to treat with the confederates—Proceedings of the nuncio—Plan of a treaty averred to be framed by the pope—Its extravagant articles—Clergy sign a protestation in favour of it—Glamorgan's chagrin—His activity and private intrigues with Rinuccini—Marquis of Ormond's treaty ratified—Prevailing power in England disclaim the peace—Folly of Rinuccini—His secret intrigues with Owen O'Nial—Creaghts—They are assembled and headed by Owen O'Nial—Ormond's astonishment—Effects his retreat—Success of the nuncio's soldiers—Rout Monroe's forces—Proclamation of the peace attended by universal tumult—Nuncio assumes supreme authority—Oath of association framed—Injudicious conduct of the supreme council—Preston their favourite general beguiled by the nuncio—Rinuccini makes his public entry into Kilkenny—The secret intrigues between Glamorgan and the nuncio—Ormond prepares for the siege of Dublin—Patriotism of the ladies—Difficult and dangerous situation of Ormond—Jealousy of O'Nial and Preston, saves Ormond from the extreme danger of his situation—Contrast of character in the two generals—Perplexity of Rinuccini—Arrival of the English parliamentary army—Council suddenly breaks up—Preston engages to unite with Ormond—Ormond prepares to treat with the English commissioners—Their proposal—Ormond objects—The hopes of Ormond revive—Are destroyed by the dastard treachery of Preston—Ormond is compelled to treat with the commissioners—He concludes a treaty with them—Early manifestation of their power—Forbid the use of the liturgy—Impatience for the departure of Ormond—Confederates urge him to remain—He embarks for England.

A. D. 1645.

It is but too true that the spirit of party is a domineering passion, which erects the destruction of all the virtues into that which their prejudices have dignified with the name, and lays claim to glory from those actions which would cover men with odium, and which they would labour to conceal if they were performed from motives of mere personal interest. Alas! if men were but to impress upon their minds a firm and abiding conviction of the truth of that most plain and simple proposition, that they have no right to do evil in order to obtain good, we should not have seen, we should not continually see so many human beings immolated on the altars of prejudice, insincerity and bad faith. The events of which we are now to take a retrospect have forcibly aroused these reflections.

Ormond not doubting but a peace so advantageous and even necessary to the Irish would be strictly and faithfully observed, proceeded to take the requisite measures for the common defence with his new allies; during the negociation a spirit of moderation seemed to pervade the majority of the assembly, and they appeared contented with the privilege of avowing the free enjoyment of their religion without requiring an absolute public establishment of its splendour. The clergy however exclaimed against this, as what they termed a desertion of the church, and their agents at Rome were busy in representing the danger and condemning those as impious temporisers who dared to conclude a peace without due attention to the interests of religion. To avert the consequences which they thus affected to apprehend, Rinuccini was hastened to Ireland. The presence of this nuncio was justly dreaded by the king's party, as tending to embarrass the conclusion of affairs with the confederates, and

Henrietta would gladly have retained him at Paris till all was concluded, representing to him that by his endeavours with the pope he might have the honour of giving success to an affair desired by all the powers of Europe, all of whom dreaded that by ruin of the royal cause the parliamentarians would unite with the Hugonots and Dutch, a conjunction equally hateful and formidable to the several monarchies, and the evils of which they subsequently experienced from the inflexible Cromwell, fully equal to their apprehensions. The intimation of the queen was enforced by a memorial from the catholics of England to the nuncio. They had heard that the queen had applied to Rome for succours, therefore they solicited Rinuccini that these subsidies should be refused until the Irish should receive their just demands. They proposed to unite with the catholics of Ireland so as to form one army for the defence of the king, provided their demands were conceded and ample security given for the performance.

In this tumult of negociation the nuncio flattered himself he had proceeded considerably in the object of his labours, namely, the extirpation of the northern heresy. Many schemes were devised to co-operate in his designs, but at length he was directed to proceed without delay to Ireland, and arrived at Kilkenny on the 12th of November 1645, when the negociation of Ormond was approximating to a conclusion. Having obtained his audience with the supreme council he professed the fairest intentions with respect to religion and peace. The council, on their part, gave assurances that they would not act without his knowledge and concurrence. They explained what had passed, the secret treaty with Glamorgan, the reasons of the king's privacy with regard to religious concessions, also the public negociation

with the marquis; and how far it had advanced. In such a situation, they observed, every thing called for speedy decision, upon what was requisite for the preservation of their religion. Glamorgan next addressed himself to the nuncio, declaring his reverence for his character, his resolution of acting in deference to his opinion, explained the nature of his commissions from the king, expatiated on the confidence of his royal master, in corroboration of which he produced a letter, sealed and addressed to Pope Innocent X., as a proof of his attachment to the holy see. To the nuncio himself he also delivered a letter, in which Charles expressed his satisfaction at his purpose of going to Ireland, requesting him to unite with his faithful servant Glamorgan, and promising to ratify whatever they should jointly resolve, recommending the observance of the strictest secresy, and assuring Rinuccini, that although his letter was the first he had written to a minister of the pope, yet he hoped it would not be the last. "When the earl," he added, "and you have concerted your measures, we will openly shew ourself, as we have assured him.—Your Friend." Even the desperate situation of Charles could not justify such condescensions, too forcibly do they indicate that the moral sense had lost its delicacy in the collision of contending interests, which had made him their sport and victim; they served but further to inflate the vain and self-confident Rinuccini. He haughtily objected to the terms both of the public and private treaties, condemned the publication of the political articles, while those respecting religion were suppressed, by which the world would naturally conclude that the honour and interests of religion had been basely sacrificed to temporal advantages.

If the confederates were cautious of alienating

the protestants, by publishing the religious articles, they should be at least equally cautious of alienating the sovereign pontiff, and all Christian princes, by suppressing them. He scornfully added, that even in these boasted articles, in which they appeared to pride themselves, no mention had been made of a Catholic lord lieutenant, no provision for Catholic bishops or universities. The council endeavoured to obviate these objections, and many more suggested by the haughty ecclesiastic, but without any further effect than to confirm him more tenaciously in his own opinion, and the moderate of the confederates in resolving upon an immediate accommodation. Rinuncciní, when he found he could not bring the entire council into his own measures, resolved to throw every obstacle in the way of accommodation. He summoned the Romish bishops, assembled at Kilkenny, to a secret meeting; eight obeyed, and united with him in a protest against the meditated peace, and a resolution to oppose it. The nuncio in the next place proceeded to practise upon Glamorgan, whose character his penetration quickly discovered. Nor was he deceived in his expectation of effectually influencing his opinions and actions. Impatient to remove every impediment to his appearing at the head of an Irish army; Glamorgan readily yielded to the plausible arguments of the eloquent nuncio, who working upon his bigotry and vanity, prevailed on him to sign an instrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty, and by which he engaged, that when ten thousand men should be sent into England, the king should oblige himself never to employ any but a Catholic lord lieutenant of Ireland, Catholic bishops to sit in parliament, universities to be erected under their sole regulation, and that the jurisdiction of the supreme council

should continue until all the private articles were ratified.

In this state of affairs, the secret negociations were suddenly disconcerted by an unforeseen incident. By means entirely fortuitous, a complete and authentic copy of the private treaty which Glamorgan had concluded with the confederates, was discovered, together with a distinct recital of his commission, and of his oath to the confederates. Thus were disclosed the insincerity and equivocation of Charles, by which his enemies obtained an unhappy advantage over him. The papers were printed, industriously dispersed to the dishonour of Charles, the mortification of his protestant adherents, and the utmost exultation of his enemies. The effect naturally to be expected from such a discovery, was nothing less than that all good protestants, (as is forcibly expressed by Lord Digby,) "should conclude, that the scandals formerly cast on his majesty, of inciting the Irish rebellion, were true, and that he designed to introduce popery, even by ways most unkingly and perfidious."

We shall not enter further into the circumstances attending this disclosure, than to observe, that probably with a view of vindicating the king's honour, Glamorgan was charged by Lord Digby, before the privy council, of a suspicion of high treason, and was imprisoned accordingly. That Glamorgan was authorised in his negociation, there appears no just ground to doubt; and even Ormond, in a letter to him, seems fully aware that he was so: "My affections and interest," he says, "are so tied to his majesty's cause, that it were madness in me to disgust any man that hath power and inclination to relieve him, in the sad condition he is in, and therefore your lordship may securely go on in the way you have proposed to yourself

to serve the king, without fear of interruption from me, or so much as *enquiring into the means you work by.*" After a short confinement, Glamorgan was liberated, and the lord lieutenant and council manifested their belief of his innocence, by giving him a commission, to treat with the confederates upon several affairs of consequence.

Meanwhile the nuncio indefatigably endeavoured to oppose any accommodation, but on terms of exorbitant concessions. Of course, the Romish clergy were all at his devotion, excepting a very few, whom age and experience had moderated, or who were independent. The general interests of Ireland, and those of the king, were entirely forgotten, in the vain imagination of establishing his religion, with every attending circumstance of dignity and splendour. He therefore utterly condemned those who were willing to make peace on such terms as might secure them toleration, without absolute outward establishment. To counteract these *moderates*, the nuncio produced a plan of a treaty, averred to be framed by the pope, and transmitted by his nephew, Cardinal Pamfilio. It comprised the most extravagant provisions for the Irish church; the nuncio was empowered to make such additions as he should see proper; these added articles were yet more extravagant than those emanating from the pontiff. Rinuccini collected his clergy, who readily signed a protestation in favour of this treaty. To the assembly he also recommended it, as the only plan by which their rights and interests could effectually be secured. He, however, exhorted them to wait the arrival of the original articles, to prolong the cessation, and to send their purposed forces to the relief of Chester. This last recommendation won Glamorgan to his interest, although he had ranked himself among the moderates, and

had declared for a speedy conclusion of the articles with the marquis, and for considering his own private treaty as sufficient guarantee for the ecclesiastical concessions.

Whilst Rinuccini thus exerted himself in favour of a treaty which, perhaps, existed only in his own intrigue, although he assured the council he daily expected it from Rome, the *moderates* of that assembly were urgent for the conclusion of the treaty with the marquis, urging the king's condescension in granting their temporal requisitions, and the concessions he had made in spirituals, which were all that could reasonably be expected from him under his present afflictive circumstances. Even the pope had declared that a connivance was all that could reasonably be demanded of Charles. Such was the attestation of one ecclesiastic; while another called in question the Roman treaty altogether, as an imposition on the Irish, devised to prevent the peace. The impatient Glamorgan could ill bear the altercations and delays; they materially affected the great object of his vanity—the leading an Irish army to the rescue of his majesty; he flew from party to party, endeavouring to moderate the asperities of each; he made large condescensions to the nuncio, and entered into private intrigues with him, in order to effect and expedite the object of his wishes. All these various plans, however, came to nothing; and it was not until the unhappy Charles was held in captivity by the Scots, and was subjected to the severest restraint, that any prospect of relief from Ireland was opened, by the ratification of the Marquis of Ormond's treaty with the confederates, July 1646.

Some settlement and composure, it might naturally be expected, would result from this long protracted object being completed; but the tu-

mults of faction that then prevailed, were inimical to any degree of serenity. The prevailing power in England utterly disclaimed the peace, and so high was now become its pretensions, that Lord Lisle was already appointed chief governor of Ireland by the parliament.

The covenanters in Ulster, a numerous body, concealed not their contempt for the whole negociation; and the parliamentarians of Munster violently opposed any peace with the Irish, as in the fulness of their zeal they could be contented with nothing less than the extirpation of popery. The powerful body of Catholics, on the other hand, with equal violence, aimed at the utter extirpation of the English, and their religion. The nuncio also, throughout the whole negociation, obstinately opposed any treaty but one framed by the pope, any separation of the civil and ecclesiastical articles, and any of the latter which should not fully meet his expectations, of an immediate, a complete, and splendid establishment of the Romish worship.

Amidst these violent contending passions and interests, little hope could be entertained of peace and tranquillity for Ireland. So utterly superficial and narrow was the political sagacity of Rinuccini, that although he publicly pretended a zeal for the king's interests, he, in a letter to Pamfilio observed, that the destruction of the king would, in his opinion, prove most advantageous to Ireland, and that the final triumph of the parliamentarians in England would be most effectual to the establishment of Catholicism in Ireland. Upon whatever basis he grounded this extraordinary opinion, he was so completely possessed with the justness of it, that as in duty bound, as *un bon Catholique*, he secretly rejoiced in every adverse circumstance attending the royal

cause, and strenuously contended against any measure likely to support it. Against the treaty of Ormond he unceasingly remonstrated and protested, preached the necessity of union among the confederates, regardless of the king's ministers, or any thought of peace; exhorted them to look abroad for support, to seek protection from foreign powers, pointing out the pope as their natural and sure protector. But as a great and powerful party of the confederates were anxious for a final accommodation, and were supported by their general Preston, the nuncio became sensible, that neither his own influence or eloquence, nor the intrigues and arts of his clergy, would prevent the peace, without some power to support them against an army ready to execute the orders of the supreme council. Rinuccini, foreseeing that a general submission to the lord lieutenant would unavoidably put an end to his own influence, secretly conspired with Owen O'Nial, who commanded the native Irish in Ulster, and who bore a great jealousy to Preston. O'Nial was a fit instrument for the deep purposes of the wily Florentine; both he and his followers were under the influence of disgust, for grievances received from the supreme council. So true is it, that the triumphs of a party seldom or never prove advantageous to those, who, in the course it has pursued, have shown themselves most ardent. The forces of Owen O'Nial were composed of what in Ireland were termed *Creaghts*, a race of barbarous rovers, without settled residence, who, shut out from social relations, gave free scope to their lawless volitions, and were a general annoyance to the districts they roamed through in search of subsistence. Rinuccini found not much difficulty in prevailing upon the irritated and disgusted O'Nial to declare against the peace, and of course

his followers, whose only resources arose from public commotion, were ready to unite in any enterprise which opened a field of action for their lawless energies. They, indeed, were anxious for engagement, and readily consented to be deemed the nuncio's soldiers. But a short period was necessary to assemble them, and a force of near five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, about the end of May, marched towards Armagh, headed by Owen O'Nial.

Ormond, who had remained in perfect security confiding in the pacification so recently completed, was astonished at the intelligence he received of this treachery, which extended to enclosing him on every side. He effected his retreat with celerity and judgment, and sheltered his small army in Dublin and other fortified towns which still remained in the hands of the protestants. In the meanwhile the progress of the nuncio's soldiers was marked with success, they encountered the forces of Monroe, which they routed, and more than three thousand of the British troops were slain, while the loss of the furious Irish did not amount to more than seventy; Ulster was in fact upon the point of being entirely reduced by the victorious O'Nial when he was summoned by the nuncio into Leinster to oppose the peace, and instantly marched at the head of ten thousand barbarous ravagers; for to this number was his lawless army swelled. The proclamation of the peace was attended by universal tumult. At Limerick the chief magistrate attended the proclamation of course officiously; he was suddenly attacked by a tumultuous crowd, led on by several ecclesiastics, who wounded the mayor and the heralds, some mortally, imprisoned them several days, and for this daring outrage they received the thanks and benediction of the nuncio. As-

suming to himself the supreme authority, he displaced the magistrates who had attempted to support the proclamation, and conferred the government of the city on a man who had been a principal in the tumult. At Waterford he convened the clergy, and together with them he excommunicated the commissioners and all who had been instrumental to the peace, pronouncing an interdict on all places where it had been admitted, he suspended all clergy who preached in favour of it, and all confessors who absolved any adherents of it. Excommunication was also denounced against those who paid or levied any money assessed by the council of Kilkenny, and all soldiers who should support the execution of their orders.

For the better union of their party, a new oath of association was framed, whereby they engaged not to adhere to any peace but such as should be honourable, secure to their consciences, and so approved by the congregation of Irish clergy. These bold and unwarrantable measures had their full effect upon a bigoted, furious, and ignorant people, every where producing the most violent exclamations against a peace in which the interests of religion had not been explicitly secured. The supreme council acted most injudiciously in this critical state of affairs. Instead of enforcing firmly and rigorously their authority, they endeavoured to sooth the clergy, received their extravagant propositions without proper reprehension and disdain, and these were confirmed in the exalted opinion of their own power, which their success had engendered. Their favourite general, Preston, was beguiled by the insinuating art of the nuncio to favour his views, thus his triumph became complete. Soldiers and gentry, officers and commonalty all crowded to this ambitious prelate, exclaiming against the *Ormondists*, (so

the favourers of peace were designated), all clamouring for religion, the clergy and the papal minister. In this frenzy of popular feeling, the power of the confederated Catholics so long supported, the authority of their assemblies, the dignity of their councils were all at once annihilated, and a few ecclesiastics seemed absolute lords of the kingdom. Rinuccini made his public entry into Kilkenny in all the pomp of royalty, and the pride of victory. All affairs, civil and ecclesiastical were resigned to his direction; completely as it were intoxicated with flattery and power, he ordered the members of the council and other promoters of the peace to be imprisoned, and general Preston was his agent to execute the order! so mutable is human opinion, so fluctuating human fidelity. Not contented with this exercise of his self constituted authority, Rinuccini appointed a new council, consisting of four bishops and eight laymen, acting himself as president, with despotic power.

But of all the infatuated individuals who thus bended before the shrine of the artful nuncio, the Earl of Glamorgan was the most servile and obsequious. Having received a private letter from the unfortunate Charles with warm assurances of his regard, and intimating that if he could effect his escape, he would cast himself into his arms, and those of the nuncio; the vain and sanguine earl communicated it to Rinuccini, and they devised a thousand plans for conveying the king to Ireland. The nuncio heaped favours and honours upon an individual whom he saw he could make a ready tool of for any purposes he might desire. He even promised to appoint him lord lieutenant, when Ormond should be driven from Dublin. The vain Glamorgan elated by present and prospective favours, renewed his vows of eternal

obedience to the nuncio, and swore he would in all things pay obedience to the holy see. While they were engaged in their ambitious and visionary plans, Ormond expected and prepared for a siege. The Irish of the north were held in particular horror by the inhabitants of Dublin, on account of the barbarities they had committed; and in order to animate the zeal of the citizens against these expected besiegers, the marchioness of Ormond and other women of quality appeared at their head carrying baskets of earth to the fortifications. But with all these preparations against a siege, Ormond was deeply sensible of the desperation of his situation. He was destitute of all resource, and had mortgaged his own property for the public service. Unable to maintain a siege, he could not treat with the Irish for they were too faithless to adhere to any armistice. The whole power of the confederacy now rested with the old Irish, desperate and barbarous, and imbued with a deep hatred against the English, and who were even now labouring to reduce the nation to a foreign subjection To such men the noble and honourable Ormond could not consent to submit. The parliamentarians he detested, yet to them he was compelled to apply in this extreme exigence.

Not uselessly to dwell upon the perplexities of this period, we shall but say that the situation of Ormond became daily more critical, and at length, the king who despaired of ever resuming his authority, sent orders from his confinement in Scotland to Ormond, that if he could not defend himself, he would wish him rather to submit to the English than the Irish rebels. Fatal must the event have proved to the noble Ormond in the enterprise of the nuncio against the capital, had not the indiscretion of this sacerdotal politician created a jealousy between his generals, O'Nial

and Preston. Some partialities shown towards the former, roused the choleric temper of the latter; the most bitter enmity was the consequence, which communicated itself to the troops of each. Thus divided amongst themselves, the interests of the general cause were necessarily weakened; opposition, not co-operation, actuating each on every occasion. O'Nial, dark, sarcastical, reserved, jealous, captious, and severe, never suffered his sentiments to transpire, but brooding in secret upon his plans, overwhelmed his victim in a moment of security which had been vigilantly marked. Preston, irritable, open, and unrestrained, expressed his feelings with indiscreet ardour and violent invective, giving his adversary every advantage over him. The conflicts of two such tempers could not but embarrass Rinunccini, if they did not alarm him. He was half resolved to commit the violent Preston to custody, while O'Nial fanned the flame by affecting to dread some insidious design against him and his forces. In short, the two armies were ready to draw swords against each other, rather than co-operate in carrying on the siege with concert and alacrity.

Solicitous to take advantage of these animosities, Lord Digby exerted himself to reconcile the whole body of the Irish to peace, and if he could not effect this, to detach Preston from the nuncio, and by uniting him with Ormond to prevent the mortifying treaty with the English parliament to which he had been compelled to apply for succours. For the purpose of effecting a pacification, Lord Clanricarde repaired to the confederates and commenced a treaty with the nuncio and his council, he engaged for the repeal of all laws against the Catholics, that they should retain possession of the churches until the king's

pleasure should be signified upon a full settlement of the nation, that the queen and prince should confirm those articles, and the crown of France be guarantee for their performance. This, however, was far from satisfying the bigoted expectations of the nuncio, though entirely agreeable to the moderate among the confederates. In the midst of the debate, the intelligence arrived that the English parliamentary forces were arrived. The council, as if seized with a panic, suddenly broke up. O'Nial called off his men from their posts, and marched away in the night; the council hastened to Kilkenny, followed by the nuncio, while Preston and his officers continued his negociation with Clanricarde, engaging on security of the terms he proposed, to observe the late peace, to obey the king's authority, and to unite with Ormond. The marquis thus extricated from his pressing danger, could better treat with the English commissioners, who seeing the wretched state of Dublin, were disposed to grant their assistance only on severe terms. They were regarded by the protestant inhabitants as their deliverers. Mortifying was it to the high minded Ormond to treat with the bitter enemies of a monarch whom he had so faithfully and zealously served. The transactions of Clanricarde giving, however, some hopes of a peace, he determined not to treat with the commissioners as a desperate man, but with a dignity suited to his rank, character, and station. They proposed to take the protestants under their protection, and to allow Ormond his estate or an annual pension of two thousand pounds for five years, in the event of his not receiving his rents. On these conditions they demanded that he should resign his government. Ormond objected to the indefinite and lax nature of their overtures, no mention being

made of many points which it was his imperative duty to attend to, before he could commit his high responsibility to any one. Some propositions he made were rejected, and the conference for the present closed. Ormond during this negociation was subjected to many difficulties, in which his principles of religion and honour had to contend with his policy. At length the negociation of Clanricarde seemed so happily advanced, as to inspire the hopes of Ormond, that he should be relieved from the mortifying necessity of submitting to the English parliament. The Leinster army was subjected to the command of Clanricarde, and Preston agreed to become his major-general; Ormond was consulted respecting the necessary military operations; Preston engaged to attempt some important services, and was to be speedily assisted by Ormond and his forces.

Thus far all favourable to Ormond's wishes, Preston began his march, when some agents from the nuncio appeared and commanded him to stop, to disperse his forces, and in case of disobedience denounced the sentence of excommunication on him and his followers. The dastard and bigoted rebel was terrified, and was easily prevailed upon to reconcile himself with the nuncio, and three days after he published a renunciation of his treaty with Clanricarde on the pretence that the articles were not performed on the part of government. Thus were the dawning hopes of Ormond dispelled by a perfidy which, experienced as he was in the levity and treachery of the Irish, he had not contemplated or supposed possible. The traitor had intimated in a letter to Clanricarde, the propriety of Ormond's waiting the result of an assembly about to be convened, ere he proceeded further in his projected measures. In order, therefore, to deprive him of all excuse, he re-

solved to do so. Shortly after the assembly was convened, and the nuncio and his clergy rose in the extravagance of their demands, and by a formal resolution they condemned the late peace, and pronounced it null and void. Thus all hopes from the Irish were brought to a period. Surrounded by a party not without reason exasperated and indignant at the repeated perfidy and obstinacy of the Irish, provoked at distresses daily becoming more pressing, unable any longer to supply a discontented and famishing army, the Marquis of Ormond found himself after all his ceaseless exertions for the interests of his royal master, deceived, destitute, abandoned; no longer seeing any possibility of supporting the cause of the unfortunate Charles, or of protecting his Irish dominions, he was compelled as his last desperate resource, to resign the rights he held, and to deposit those of the crown with the English parliament. With the full concurrence of all those who were interested in the honour and interests of the king, Ormond wrote to the commissioners, offering to resign his government and garrisons to them. Imagination pictures the agitation of the gallant Ormond, his internal struggles, his hesitation, his grief, and indignant emotions ere he could resolve upon this forced humiliation. His propositions were accepted by the commissioners, and the treaty commenced. The confederates who had ever professed loyalty to the king, though they had little proved it, were not insensible to the odium of forcing Ormond by their obstinacy into a submission to his enemies, and affecting a solicitude to prevent it, renewed their overtures of accommodation, but as the influence of the clergy continued to prevail, nothing could be done. It is stated, that even Owen O'Nial began to apprehend bad consequences, from

driving Ormond from the kingdom, and entered into some negociations with him, Ormond proposed that if he could procure a cessation for one year, he would break off his treaty with the parliament, not yet advanced so far, but he could do it with honour. He required from O'Nial an answer in fourteen days. The proposal was dispatched by a confidential messenger to the council, with recommendations to the popish bishop of Clogher to support it. But the infatuated council effectually defeated the project by imprisoning the messenger, till the limited fourteen days had expired. Nothing therefore remained to Ormond, but to conclude the hateful treaty with the commissioners. Accordingly he delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk and other garrisons to Colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament. The commissioners promised on their part, that the protestants should be protected; that all who chose to attend the marquis out of Ireland should have free liberty to do so; that popish recusants, who had not engaged in the rebellion, might rest securely in the favour of parliament according to their future demeanour; that Ormond should have the liberty of residing in England, provided he submitted to the ordinances of parliament and they agreed to reimburse the expences he had incurred for the public service.

Complete masters of Dublin, the commissioners delayed not till the departure of Ormond the manifestation of their new power. By their own will and pleasure alone, they forbade the use of the liturgy, (the only form of worship established by law), and substituted the directory in all places of worship. This stipulation was, however, for the present confined to the city, or at least not obeyed without it. The bishop of Meath still

continued the use of the liturgy, and thither the protestants of the established church resorted in great numbers to unite in divine worship during this period of double persecution. The Irish Catholics had already, as we have seen, refused the smallest degree of toleration of the established worship in any place subjected to their power, and in the extravagance of their expectations, had even disputed if the king should be allowed one chapel in the capital, when their dominion was to extend over the entire kingdom. With the same spirit of bigotry directed to the opposite extreme, the gloomy reformers rejected the remonstrance of the clergy, and uttered loud menaces against the heinous guilt of worshipping God in any form or manner but their own. They expressed the greatest impatience for the departure of Ormond, although they were by no means careful to perform their stipulations to enable him to liquidate his debts.

In the meantime, the most eminent of the confederates anticipated the worst consequences to their cause, by the departure of Ormond, and he was earnestly entreated to remain sometime longer in Ireland. But Ormond had no reason to rely on their stability, and he saw no good likely to result by his continuance, as he could not condescend to remain in obscurity in a country where he had sustained a public character, he therefore left the regalia to be delivered to the commissioners, and embarked for England. Thus was a virtuous statesman, a true patriot, a faithful subject, and a noble minded man, driven from a station he had filled with honour, through a continued course of perplexity, difficulty and danger; and that by two contending parties, who each in pursuit of their object cared not what devastation they made in their course, or what was sacrificed to the plans of their ambition.

CHAPTER XIX.

Ireland plunged in anarchy and distraction—Catholic armies—Power of the Nuncio—His arrogance—Upright conduct of Clanricarde—Affair of Cashel—Conduct of the assembly—It however declares for peace—Rinuccini prevails upon them to send deputations to Rome and Spain—Private commission of the agents sent to France— answer of the queen and prince—Agents return—Affairs favourable to peace—Catholic confederacy seems to decline—A treaty of cessation proposed—Untoward circumstances counteract these happy auspices—Rinuccini protests against the cessation—Fulminates an excommunication—His power weakened by his extravagant pretensions—Perfidy of O'Nial—Conduct of the generals—Nuncio's power passing away—Design of O'Nial—Vigour of the council—O'Nial intrigues with Jones—Is declared a traitor by the council—Appeal to Rome against the Nuncio—Proceedings of the assembly against him—He is ordered to depart the kingdom—His indignant fury—Demoralized state of the country—Ormond resumes his power—His proceedings with the assembly—Mutiny in Lord Inchiquin's army—Treaty suspended—Fleet arrives—Mutiny quelled—Negociation resumed—Emissaries from Rome—Effect of the king's situation in Ireland—Peace proclaimed—Articles of the treaty—Objectionable clause contained in it—The fatal catastrophe of the king—Horror of the Irish—Ormond proclaims Charles the second—Arrival of prince Rupert—Rinuccini retires to France—Ormond confirmed in his government—He is left to his own energies—Is aided by Clanricarde—Charles prevented from going to Ireland—Ormond obliged to take the field—O'Nial enters into secret correspondence with the parliamentarians—Unfortunate affair of the fort—Government of Ireland, an object of intrigue—Cromwell is chosen governor—He lands at Dublin—Reception—Takes the field—His decision—Summons Drogheda to surrender, on refusal orders an assault—Terror infused by the barbarity of Cromwell—His entire success—Operations of Ormond defeated—Continued success of Cromwell—Bishop of Ross—Cromwell returns to England—Resigns his army to Ireton—Ormond

expostulates with the clergy—They publish a declaration against Ormond—Success of the parliamentary army—Bigoted fury prevailing—Concession of Charles in his declaration to the Scots—The effects of it—Ormond's spirited conduct—Protestation of the clergy—Ormond prepares for his departure—The alarm of the assembly—Earl of Clanricarde appointed lord deputy—Loyalty of Clanricarde—Versatility of the clergy—Their hatred of Clanricarde—Proposal to the Duke of Lorraine—Lorraine sends an envoy to Ireland—Proceedings of the negociation—The Duke invested with authority—Exultation of the clergy—Transactions of Ireton—Sir Phelim O'Nial suffers an ignominious death—Severities of Ireton—Reduces Limerick—Dies of contagious fever—General Ludlow succeeds in the command—Clanricarde accepts conditions, and retires to England—His death.

A. D. 1647.

On the departure of the upright and intelligent Ormond, Ireland seemed to revert to its ancient anarchy and distraction. Most complicated were its miseries; torn by faction, wasted by war, opposed by poverty, it appeared no enviable theatre for the display of parliamentary skill and military discipline. The republican vulgarity of Colonel Jones and his unpolished train, was strikingly contrasted with the elegant state and polished decorum of Ormond and his court. The new governors found themselves plunged into difficulties they had not anticipated. Some attempts to restore discipline among the troops did but irritate them, suffering from absolute famine they plundered the inhabitants and insulted their officers, and Jones who had no means of supplying their necessities was obliged to connive at their outrages. Three armies of Catholics surrounded them, O'Nial and his troops professing entire devotion to the pope and his minister, were equally inimical to the royal cause and the ruling powers. Preston and his followers vainly regretting the departure of Ormond were inveterate against the

parliamentarians. The Scots were equally averse to the present government. All was disunion, jealousy and inveteracy. The authority of the nuncio prevailed over all the Catholics without any qualification or controul, and he by his arrogance and insolence soon made them repent of the unbounded power with which they had entrusted him. The Earl of Clanricarde, who preserved his loyalty firm and unblemished, saw with a sagacity rendered more acute by his principles, that ruin impended over his unhappy country, and the whole energies of his upright and intelligent mind were called into action to avert if possible the terrible effects of the moral tempest which was collecting on all sides. He secretly entered into correspondence with Lord Inchiquin, who preserved great authority over the protestants in Munster, and in the course of the hostilities, the latter advanced against the city of Cashel. The inhabitants of which fled to their cathedral church seated on a well fortified rock, and provided with a strong garrison. Inchiquin proposed to leave them unmolested, provided they would advance him three thousand pounds, and a month's pay for his army. This proposal was haughtily rejected, he therefore stormed and took the place with a considerable slaughter both of the inhabitants and soldiery. The booty he obtained was also very large, but still insufficient to enable him to keep the field, therefore on the approach of winter he dispersed his army into garrisons. But the circumstance which has induced us to advert to the affair of Cashel, is that in storming it, about twenty ecclesiastics were included in the slaughter, an incident which furnished Rinuccini with a theme for declamation against the sacrilegious cruelty, and added warmth to his arguments for revenge. He imputed the

affair to some secret collusion between the confederates' general of the Munster army, and Inchiquin, and to the imputed desertion of the holy cause ascribed all the calamities of the faithful, the innocent blood which had been shed before the holy altars, and all the enormities which had marked the heretical armies. Fired with his outrageous zeal, his whole party exclaimed so loudly against Lord Taafe, that he was obliged again to take the field so late in the season as November. His army was met by Inchiquin, who routed it, more than three thousand of the infatuated Irish, the flower of the Munster army, were cut to pieces, and the entire *materiel* of the army fell into the hands of the victors.

These repeated calamities had a great impression on the confederates, who, in proportion to their proud elation in prosperity, were depressed by adverse circumstances; many determined to abandon a cause so desperate, no longer to submit to the insensate pride and insolence of the nuncio, and the outrages of O'Nial, his ally. Under these impressions of disappointment and disgust, Lord Muskerry prevailed upon them once more to attempt to effect peace for their country. The nuncio soon discovered the design of subverting his power, and, fired with indignation, resolved to counteract it; for this purpose he took measures which prove his total inebriation of power, and the violent excesses to which it leads, effectually sapping the foundations of its own proud erections. He had recommended eleven persons to Rome to be made bishops. In order to gain a superiority in the assembly, to oppose the designs meditated against him, he prevailed on the supreme council, formed of his own creatures, to summon those ecclesiastics by writ to the assembly. The lawyers objected that their

bulls were not yet arrived, that they were not consecrated, nor invested with their temporalities. therefore the summons would be altogether informal and invalid. Rinunccini passionately replied, he would consecrate them himself, but as a more expeditious step, he ordered them to take their seats directly. The dastard and servile assembly were intimidated by this unlawful assumption of power, and actually submitted to it. The triumphant nuncio, of course, became more and more insolent; for instance, Ulster usually sent sixty-three members to the general assembly, nine from this province only attended on this occasion, and the overbearing nuncio insisted these nine should have sixty-three voices! This extravagant and absurd demand was, however, rejected. But in spite of every intrigue of the artful Florentine, the assembly declared almost unanimously for peace, and for that purpose determined to send agents to the queen and prince in France. Rinunccini, who well knew this step would be the destruction of his power, and produce the return of Ormond, violently opposed it; he pressed the assembly to implore the pope to assist them, and so prevailing were his persuasions, that it was resolved to send deputations to Rome and Madrid, and that the agents destined for France should await the answer received from those courts. The instruction given to these agents was, of course, a point in which Rinunccini was especially interested. In the fulness of his pride, he had with his clergy subscribed a declaration, never to consent that either the queen or the prince should be invited into Ireland, until all the articles of the pope respecting religion were secured, a Roman Catholic made governor, or that any peace should be concluded, which might diminish the present state and public exer-

cise of their religion. They insisted, therefore, that the instructions should be modelled in conformity to this declaration. They were accordingly permitted to frame them, and to insert all their extravagant demands, as with that convenient equivocation and mental reservation sanctioned by their corrupt religious principles, the opposite party had obtained the secret promise of the agents, to reject them in their negociation, as tending to the subjection of their country to a foreign power, now the clearly avowed design of the clergy and the old Irish. This design was even publicly avowed, in a tract written by an Irish jesuit, printed at this time, and assiduously, though privately, dispersed through the country: the author contends, that the Kings of England had never any right to Ireland; but even admitting they once had, they had forfeited it by turning heretics, and thereby neglecting the conditions of Adrian's grant. That the old Irish would be fully justified, not only by force of arms, to recover their possessions from usurpers of English and other foreign extraction, and to kill all the Protestants, but also all Roman Catholics of Ireland, who supported the crown of England. That they ought to choose an Irish native for their sovereign, and at once to throw off the yoke of heretics and foreigners. Such was the inflammatory doctrine, circulated amongst a people whose combustible nature was so readily ignited. The priest, in whose custody this book was seized, escaped punishment by the interest of the nuncio, who also endeavoured greatly to save the book itself from censure. In this, however, he did not succeed; it was condemned by the general sense of the more moderate of the supreme council, and ordered to be burnt at Kilkenny.

The appointed agents in the meantime repaired

to France, had an interview with the queen and prince, whose countenance and assistance were entreated for supporting the royal authority, proposing that the prince should be supplied with *arms and money, to enable him to take his well affected subjects under his command.* Such was *their private commission.* In a public audience, the propositions of the clergy were presented as the mere form of their office. Ormond, and his amiable son, Lord Ossory, were in France, and the royal exiles found in them able advisers in this delicate emergence. By the advice of the marquis, they returned a general and gracious answer to the Irish agents, expressing satisfaction that after their violation of the late peace, the confederates seemed disposed to discern that their true interest must be involved in their return to duty. In respect to religion, discussion was at present evaded, with assurances that a person fully authorised should be sent to Ireland, to make propositions to the confederates, and to grant them every grace consistent with the honour and interest of his majesty.

Glamorgan, strongly recommended to Mazarine by the nuncio, had been some time at Paris, soliciting for the appointment of the lieutenancy of Ireland; the Marquis of Antrim flattered himself he should obtain the station by the favour of the queen. But it was privately intimated to the agents, that Ormond was certainly destined to resume his station in the kingdom, as the prince declared against resorting thither while the nuncio remained; next to his royal highness, no one could be more acceptable than the marquis, and the agents returned well satisfied with the result of their negociation. On their return, they found the state of affairs favourable to the design of peace. The tide of success seemed turned, and

the Catholic confederacy appeared declining in consequence and vigour each succeeding day. Their enemies were powerful on every side, and the inclemency of the season alone prevented the most desperate hostilities. With exhausted resources, and rendered impatient by misery, their adherents grew querulous, mutinous, and obstinate; they believed, with their characteristic impatience, that any change would be relief, and deserted in great numbers, purchasing their protection of the parliamentarians, on what terms they chose to offer, and most grievous were the compositions they yielded to.

To effect a cessation, seemed to the majority a case of absolute necessity; even the infatuated bigot, Rinuccini himself, recommended a truce with their most formidable enemy, Inchiquin, that the confederates might securely march to Dublin, and expel from thence the odious sectaries. Inchiquin was ready to meet their wishes, an emissary was sent to the confederates, to treat respecting a cessation. Their generals, Taafe and Preston, entered into a solemn oath to support the king's rights, and to obey his lieutenant, and Inchiquin entered into the same engagements.

These happy auspices were counteracted, however, by untoward circumstances, obliging a premature avowal of the coalition. Rinuccini had, it has been stated, but a few weeks antecedent recommended a cessation. He had suffered his imagination to dwell upon the happy event of detaching Ireland altogether from Englishmen, of whatever opinions, as he was equally an enemy to the royal, or popular party. Indulging the dazzling visions of a pope supreme monarch of Ireland, and a stately and powerful hierarchy to execute his behests, the nuncio, in the contemplation of becoming the representative of the sove-

reign pontiff, averted his mental view from the direful calamities of the nation, with a cold and steady insensibility; therefore, from the moment that Lord Inchiquin declared for the king, he resolutely opposed the cessation, nor were all the arguments and efforts of the supreme council sufficient to obviate his wild objections. As usual, he recurred to his clergy, assembling them, and with them renewing a protest against the cessation. The council were perplexed, as well as indignant at this pertinacity and folly, yet weakly terrified at the apprehension of excommunication, they hesitated, equivocated, and delayed; nor could all the efforts of the noble-minded Clanricarde and his colleagues confirm their resolution; at length, by the added support of the supernumeraries, the provincial assemblies of Leinster and Munster urging a cessation, it was resolved that it should be concluded, as the nuncio, in the midst of his invective, could propose no reasonable scheme for prosecuting the war. Enraged even to frenzy by this defeat of his purposes, and opposition to his lordly will, the irritated prelate fled from Kilkenny, and passionately cast himself into the arms of his favourite O'Nial, whom he conjured, by all his hopes of heaven, to march without delay to the relief of the degraded and suffering church, and its profane betrayers. The council respectfully solicited his return, to confer temperately on the affairs of the nation; but he imperiously and indignantly disclaimed all connexion with them, unless the whole conduct of peace and war was submitted absolutely to him and his clergy. He caused a protest against the cessation to be affixed to the doors of the cathedral at Kilkenny, and when it was contemptuously torn down, he fulminated his direful sentence of excommunication against all who contrived or

favoured the cessation, and denounced an interdict on all places in which it should be accepted or maintained.

But the popular feeling, if it had not experienced an absolute revolution, in respect to the nuncio, was undergoing a rapid transition. His despotism had reached its summit, and the people were directed by a new impulse, ready to adopt a more moderate system, or rather to suffer that which had been drawn to extreme tension, and which had borne them up, now gradually to relax. Hence the severities and the censures of the nuncio failed to have that effect which they produced, when in the plenitude of his power he commanded both the mental and physical energies of his votaries. His spiritual terrors, by being fulminated on the most trivial occasions, were become familiar to the imagination of the weakest, and divested of their horror; and this diminished effect was further aided by the few clergy who united in the sentence, in comparison to those who had formerly given strength to the individual anathemas of the fiery nuncio. The supreme council ventured to appeal in form against his censures, in which they were supported by two archbishops, twelve bishops, all the secular clergy of their dioceses, by all the Jesuits and Carmelites, many of the Augustines and Dominicans, and about five hundred Franciscans.

Though the power of Rinuccini was thus evidently declining, and his scheme for a concentration of power in consequence far from the accomplishment his vanity and bigotry had anticipated, yet still he was supported by no inconsiderable party, if a combination of individuals might be termed such, who were each destitute of any fixed principle of resolute action, and subject to all the fluctuations produced by narrow and selfish pas-

sions and interests, with a perfect indifference to the common cause beneath which each sheltered his individual designs. The nuncio yet ranked among his adherents those of the clergy, who expected preferment by his favour, and those of the laity who looked for the restoration of their paternal lands; those who were oppressed by debt, and those who having nothing to lose, had some chance of gaining by popular commotion; and in the state of anarchy so long subsisting in Ireland it may be well imagined the latter class was a numerous one. All these united with Rinuccini in desperate measures, and joined the standard of O'Nial, who totally unmindful of his oath to obey only the orders of the confederates, acted as if the nuncio had absolved him from it, and denounced war against the very council he had bound himself to support: so true is it that the combinations of the selfish and the wicked are peculiarly subject to dissolution and discord.

The generals however determined to avoid all violent measures, and though they had opportunity of seizing the nuncio and O'Nial, they contented themselves with desiring him not to trouble them with letters or orders, as they should only pay regard to the supreme council. At the same time they detached a force to Kilkenny to support its authority. Thus involved in a war among themselves, the nuncio found his power rapidly passing away, and the high authority he had enjoyed daily tottering, so as to threaten total dissolution. He endeavoured to convene a synod in order to obtain a full sanction of his censures, but Clanricarde, by order of the supreme council, prevented the assembly and invested the city, obliging the people to proclaim the cessation and to renounce the nuncio. Still undismayed the furious prelate issued his comminations in his own name, de-

claring all to be guilty of the mortal sin who agreed to the cessation. This ridiculous display of zeal and obstinacy, was however but the bravado of disappointment and hate. With an inconsistency which at once betrayed his secret fears, he permitted O'Nial to make overtures to Jones, the arch heretic as he had called him, who was the inveterate enemy of the king, the confederates, and above all of the catholic faith. Jones, who dreaded the return of Ormond, gladly received the overtures of O'Nial, as a fit tool to employ in his own designs; he consented to an accommodation with him, and O'Nial formed the bold design to surprise Kilkenny and seize the council. His design was favoured by the treachery of many, and was near accomplishment when it was discovered. The power of the nuncio was now nearly extinct, all his intrigues were counteracted by the vigilance of the council, who on the intelligence that Ormond would soon arrive proceeded with vigour and resolution in the execution of their duty. Indignant at the outrages of O'Nial, and particularly at his transactions with Jones, they declared him a traitor by proclamation; nor did they evidence much more indulgence to the falling nuncio. They renewed the appeal to Rome against his sentence of excommunication, and upon Rinuccini contriving to have their messenger intercepted and his papers seized, his audacity did but higher rouse their indignation. All the catholics of Ireland, more especially those of Galway, where his influence was the greatest were (under the severest penalties,) forbidden to hold any intercourse or correspondence with him. He also received a letter from the prolocutor of the assembly, exhorting him to depart from a kingdom he had harassed and well nigh ruined by his factious

violence and obstinacy, and to prepare his defence against those articles of accusation which the assembly intended to exhibit to his holiness the pope, whose instructions he had neglected, departed from and exceeded, and whose authority he had so utterly disgraced. It would be useless to dwell upon the indignant fury of the disappointed zealot in being thus not only deserted but contemned by those, by whom he had been most flattered. How often does history present us with such mutability of sentiment, how often does its faithful page illustrate the truth, that the very transport that raises the individual to distinction becomes the irresistible impulse of his humiliation: how rapid is the fall, how sudden the reverse.

While these events were passing in the councils of Ireland, imagination may form perhaps a faint idea, but language must fail to describe the demoralised state of a people, for whom Adrian so many ages before imagined he had effectually provided, to civilize and render happy! In the chaos of continually recurring revolutions, partial and general, the moral condition of the people had been utterly lost sight of, and they were literally abandoned to their imaginations and frightfully excited passions, and in our retrospect of the leading acts of Irish government we must be led to contemplate with deep regret the dreadful corruption of manners pervading the community. If compelled to work it was with despair and unwillingness, for the chances were, that their labour would be vain, the fruits of it becoming the prey of the ravager; alternately brutified with intemperance, and the victims of want, their physical energies were broken and their morals utterly destroyed, uniting the dissolute habits of the profligate with the ferociousness of the barbarian. Amid the conten-

tions respecting religion and the restraints in the exercises of it the essential spirit was lost, for among the inferior orders of society at least, if external forms and stated periods of public worship are disregarded or omitted, the neglect of this first essential duty easily opens a way to the violation of every other, and with the vulgar the transition from religious indifference to actual vice is as rapid as it is certain and dreadful.

But let us return from the digression to which these melancholy facts have beguiled us, and proceed with our retrospect of the state of affairs, on the arrival of the Marquis of Ormond to resume his power. His object and task was an arduous one, to unite the protestant and catholic royalists as the only expedient left to avert the ruin of the king; had they been bound by the genuine bonds which should unite Christians, there would have been no hesitation, no difficulty in producing co-operation, but contending worldly interests, for the most part, governed those who deceived themselves in supposing they were but firmly upholding the genuine principles of their faith. The Marquis, though disappointed in his expectations from France, succeeded by fair promises and carefully concealing his limited resources in satisfying the army, and his next point to gain was the assembly. To this assembly he notified, that agreably to their petition presented at St. Germains, he was sent with powers to conclude a peace. Commissioners were appointed to treat with him at his residence at Carrick. The nuncio and his party could not conceal their mortification, they exclaimed against the impiety of betraying the holy church and precipitating the conclusion of an impious peace, without even waiting for dispatches from Rome, their emissaries being daily expected with large sums of money for the

prosecution of the war, and to support the catholic cause. These clamours were not without effect, they induced the assembly to appoint a bishop as one of the commissioners, and Ormond judiciously admitted the nomination. Their demands respecting religion were extensive and explicit, and were a subject of unceasing conference during twenty successive days. So much delay was produced however by the distance of the seat of conference from that of power, that it was proposed to Ormond that he should take up his residence in his own castle at Kilkenny. To this he acceded, and was received with every demonstration of respect and affection, and surrounded by his own guards in regal state. While here engaged in negociation he was suddenly summoned to the assistance of Lord Inchiquin, a dangerous spirit of mutiny having manifested itself in his army.

Thus again was the treaty suspended: fortunately a messenger arrived with intelligence that a fleet would soon arrive with provisions and ammunition, that the Duke of York was immediately to sail, and the Prince of Wales would follow. This account aided the address of Ormond, and the commotion was for a while quelled; Ormond therefore returned to his negociation at Kilkenny. During his absence the emissaries had returned from Rome, not however with effective succours and vast sums of money, but heavily laden with reliques and benedictions. These, however, composed but a sorry material for war. His holiness seemed disposed to get quit of the affair if possible. He pleaded the distresses of the holy see, preventing any supply of money to his dear children, the Irish; and in regard to the conditions respecting religion he graciously left them to the dictates of their own judgment. This disappointment confirmed the moderates of the as-

sembly in their dispositions for peace, but yet those passions, interests, and prejudices which invariably pervade a popular assembly tended greatly to retard decision, notwithstanding Ormond energetically and boldly remonstrated against the extravagance of their demands and the danger of their delay. But an event which filled Europe with dismay, effected that which even the approaching ruin of the country had failed to accomplish. Intelligence was received of the remonstrance of the army to the English parliament, that the king should be brought to trial. The effect in Ireland was as powerful as the event was unexpected. All complaints of all parties seemed silenced, the confederates, with a feeling nearly allied to remorse, were seized with a strong sense and deep impression of the king's precarious situation. It is possible a feeling of individual danger might mingle itself with the conviction of the high power of the parliament, produced by the intelligence; be this as it may, they at once, without further debate, acceded to the terms proposed by Ormond. The treaty was concluded, peace proclaimed, and even the clergy expressed their satisfaction, and by circulars recommended a strict observance of the peace. The concessions in regard to religion were what had been formerly firmly rejected, which had been abhorrent to the great body of protestants. All the penal statutes were to be repealed, and the catholics left to the free and secure exercise of their religion. It was not, indeed, expressly stated, that they were to be allowed their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor the grant of churches, and church livings, neither were they expressly restrained; but they were secured in the possession of such churches then held, until the king's pleasure should be authentically and freely declared.

But what appeared a suspicious and dangerous clause was, the limitation of the lord lieutenant's powers, by the nomination of twelve commissioners, called *commissioners of trust*, they were to take care that the articles were duly observed and ratified in a full and peaceable convention of parliament: they were to share with Ormond his authority in every point. Ormond, sensible how repugnant the articles of this treaty must be to the protestants, published his declaration of reasons, that his liberal concessions to the Irish had been made in consequence of the desperate state of the king, which had imposed upon his royal master, the necessity, "the saddest to which any king was ever reduced." But all the hopes of Ormond, whether of leading an army into England or of terrifying the persecutors of his royal master with the apprehension of an invasion from Ireland, or any other expectation dictated by his zeal and attachment, were quickly dispelled, for before the intelligence of the Irish treaty reached London, the unfortunate Charles became the victim of that political faction which had embittered his life!

Such was the horror and detestation of the Irish at the tragical end of the unhappy monarch, that Rinuccini at once concluded the whole party would submit to the lord lieutenant, who instantly proclaimed Charles the Second, and to the great consolation of the afflicted royalists, at this critical moment, Prince Rupert arrived at Kinsale with the long expected fleet. The nuncio had hitherto remained in Ireland, in sanguine hope that some favourable incident might again turn the tide of popular opinion and draw the nation into his measures. These hopes seemed now dispelled, he therefore resolved to retire from the country which he had nearly ruined by his senseless ambition. He embarked for France privately, and

from thence continued to inflame the Irish clergy by his letters, until he was summoned to Rome.

Ormond, whose attachment to the royal cause was firm and invariable, was confirmed in his government by the exiled Charles. It remained a difficult station to fill, as he had both various enemies and difficulties to encounter. Dublin was in the possession of the parliament, and Jones, who was governor, declared he expected large reinforcements. To the British forces in Ulster the abhorrence of the King's death and the hatred of the Irish were equally violent; disdaining all connection with the supreme council they would neither accede to the peace nor acknowledge the lord lieutenant. O'Nial, leader of a formidable force, still adhered to the nuncio's measures and defied the royal party. Such were the opposing interests Ormond had to reconcile, and if possible attach to his cause. O'Nial was persuaded to consent to a treaty, but here the division of power counteracted the design; the Commissioners of Trust hated and feared O'Nial and refused the troops he demanded as the condition of his accommodation: of course the treaty was broken off. Ormond then applied to Sir Charles Coote, who held Derry for the parliament; from him he could obtain only general and vague professions. Still not quite discouraged he endeavoured to practise with Jones, who was at least unreserved. He declared his resolution of firmly adhering to his principles and party, and of supporting the English interests. It was some allay to the mortification of Ormond in these unsuccessful endeavours to favour the royal cause, that the troops of Ulster declared for the king and blocked up Coote in Derry. The distressed Ormond was now to collect as he could an army from the most heterogeneous materials, from men of different religions, interests,

passions, nay even nations, a sort of civilized banditti. He had to unite such men,—who had during eight years waged perpetual and bitter war against each other, instigated by the most barbarous passions. The leaders, on the affection and abilities of whom he could have no reliance, were contending with each other for commands and honours, continually harassing Ormond with their rivalships and competitions. He was also ignorant of the circumstances of the confederate party in respect to the entire arrangements of the troops. They had engaged for an army of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred cavalry; but it was impossible for the provinces to maintain this number, and those whom it was found necessary to dismiss found ready entertainment from O'Nial, whose followers enticed by every thing which can allure the idle, the dissolute, and the desperate, found no difficulty in procuring an abundant succession of recruits, as pillage gave every one ample opportunity of supplying themselves with at least momentary profusion. The Commissioners of Trust also, apparently attentive only to their own interests, took little care to provide either magazines or money. They had indeed engaged to do both, but when Ormond was to take the field, no part of the applotment made upon the kingdom for the purpose was collected. All was left to his own energies, in which he was generously and voluntarily aided by Clanricarde. He succeeded in obtaining some inconsiderable sums from several cities and corporate towns; but so far from there being that union, without which no national good can be effected, they like so many independent states obeyed no orders of the general assembly, but directed all they contributed by their own acts. Ormond expected assistance from the fleet commanded by Prince Rupert; but from causes

it is not necessary to advert to disappointment ensued in that quarter. Ormond severely felt the complicated difficulties and distress of his situation, and he earnestly urged the king to repair to Ireland: every good was to be expected from the measure; and Charles himself was inclined to it. At this critical juncture the Scottish commissioners attended him at the Hague. He referred them to his arrival in Ireland for an answer to their propositions. His baggage and inferiors of his suite were actually embarked. But the apathy which marked the princes of Europe in their conduct towards the unfortunate exiles defeated this plan, apparently fraught with so many benefits to all parties. Three months were wasted in a vain expectation of assistance from the states; more time was lost at St. Germains, and though the young king yet adhered to his resolution, and even proceeded to the Isle of Jersey, yet the time of action was now arrived, and Ormond obliged to take the field. Having at last collected an army of sixteen thousand men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons with success, but the necessities of his army were a fatal impediment to his progress. O'Nial, more intent on schemes for his own personal advantage and safety than anxious for the preservation of his country or religion, entered into a secret correspondence with the parliamentarians. The other Irish, divided between their clergy, who were averse to Ormond, and their nobility, who were attached to him, were uncertain in their motions and feeble in their efforts.

It is in fact most difficult to describe the situation of a country governed by no fixed principles, and subject to all the fluctuations which are produced by the interests and passions of individuals and of parties. In such a state, circumstances

are too evanescent to be detailed, and the opinions and dispositions of the people are so mutable and contradictory, that it is impossible to connect them in a regular series. The reduction of Dublin was the great object which Ormond wished to accomplish; after he had therefore united his troops to the main army, he passed the Liffy and took post at Rathmines two miles from Dublin, with a view of commencing the siege. In order to cut off further supply from Jones, who had received some from England, Prince Rupert having refused to blockade the harbour, Ormond had begun the reparation of a dilapidated fort which lay at the gates of Dublin, and being exhausted with physical fatigue and mental anxiety, had retired to take a short repose, leaving directions to keep his forces under arms. The report of arms suddenly awakened him from his short slumbers, and starting from his bed he found every thing around him in tumult and confusion. He found the party employed at the fort driven from their works, Sir William Vaughan, one of his officers routed and slain, and the whole of his right wing completely broken. This disaster was occasioned by Jones making a sudden sally from the city with a fresh reinforcement he had received. Ormond in vain endeavoured to correct the disorder, he forced his way to the left wing, but here also his men had caught the panic, and fled without even firing at the enemy. Fifteen hundred privates and three hundred officers were made prisoners, about six hundred slain, many of these, to the utter disgrace of the conquerors, when they had accepted quarter, and laid down their arms. Such was the unfortunate issue of an enterprise which Ormond hoped would have turned the national mind in his favour, and been attended with the most happy results to the royal cause. Yet it was nothing

more than might have been anticipated from the army, it was his great misfortune to command officers faithless, negligent, ignorant; men undisciplined, inexperienced, indifferent to the honour of the service, and secure of a refuge if disbanded. Arms and ammunition lost, were more to be regretted than such troops. But the evil of the misfortune most to be lamented, was the dejection it occasioned in the friends, and the exultation of the enemies of the royal cause; the blemish it threw on the military character of Ormond, and the complaints it aroused respecting the peace, the enemies of which considered the misfortune as entirely imputable to Ormond, and transmitted the intelligence of the defeat to Rome, with expressions of joy and triumph. Soon after it occurred, Ormond, (who himself was little dispirited at the event), wrote to Jones, desiring a list of the prisoners he had taken. The proud republican returned the following laconic reply, to the gallant noble. "My Lord, Since I routed your army, I cannot have the happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you.

MICHAEL JONES."

In the meantime O'Nial had grown disgusted with his new allies, and renewed his treaty with Ormond, who although he well knew there was not the smallest reliance in his fidelity, was yet desirous to detach him from others. While these things were passing, the English commonwealth was arrived at some settlement, and reluctantly began to take an interest, in what, during the tumult of nearer interests had passed unnoticed. The government of Ireland began to be an object of intrigue, the presbyterians desiring one individual to be nominated, the independents another. Cromwell, however, aware that much glory might be won, and great authority acquired in the station,

determined himself to aspire to it, and Cromwell was not one to aspire in vain. His energetic soul firmly grasped every circumstance which could favour success in the objects of his ambition; he had learned to repress, to curb every feeling which could raise an obstacle to his desire; he therefore contrived by his intrigues, to be chosen lord lieutenant of Ireland, by a unanimous vote of parliament.

Had not the confederates of Ireland been obstinately hardened in their infatuated policy, had they formed a firm, real, and timely union with Ormond, they might have expelled every English partizan of the parliament from their country. But in the rigour of Cromwell's government, a dreadful chastisement was reserved for their pride and bigotry. After various delays and difficulties, which it required all the energy of Cromwell to surmount, he landed at Dublin with eight thousand foot, four thousand cavalry, a formidable train of artillery and other military necessaries, with an ample supply of money. He was received with shouts and rejoicings. Having exercised some acts of his new authority, regulated all civil and military affairs, offered indemnity and protection to those who would submit to the parliament, Cromwell committed the city to a new governor, and took the field with ten thousand men. Cromwell possessed that essential principle in the character of greatness, *decision*, a total incapability of surrendering to indifference or *delay*, the serious determinations of the mind. His strenuous will depending upon the conclusions of his comprehensive mind, the moment they were matured went forth to the accomplishment, with an inflexible course, and nervous energy which nothing had power to divert or to controul. Never was this moral strength more strikingly exemplified,

than during his government military and civil in Ireland, and never was his immobility of heart amidst causes of subduing emotion more clearly betrayed.

Ormond believing that Cromwell would first direct his attention to Drogheda a frontier town, much exposed, and of great consequence in opening a communication with the north, had given particular attention to prepare it for any attack. He committed it to the care of a tried and faithful officer, strengthened the garrison, and amply furnished it with ammunition and provision. But the commanding spirit of Cromwell suffered him not to wait the slow operations of a siege, disdaining all the usual forms and approaches, he summoned the governor to surrender, and on refusal, battered the walls for two days, until he made a breach. He then ordered an assault, his men were twice repulsed, but in the third attempt, led on by Cromwell himself, attended by Ireton, the town was gained. Quarter had been promised to all those who should lay down their arms, a promise observed till all resistance was at an end. But the moment that the city was completely reduced, Cromwell with that imperturbable cruelty we have named as his characteristic, resolved by one effectual execution to terrify the whole Irish party he had to contend with. He calmly issued his fatal orders, that the whole garrison should be put to the sword! during five days this butchery was carried on with circumstances of horror, from which the imagination recoils. A number of ecclesiastics were found within the walls, and Cromwell, as if he was the avenger of heaven against the ministers of idolatry, commanded his soldiers to plunge their weapons into the undefended bosoms of these wretched men. Thus even the remorse

which must inevitably accompany the performance of acts at which conscience revolts, does not deter the ambitious from the perpetration. But in fact ambition bears down every thing internal and external which impedes its course. No sacrifice appears too great which can purchase the acquisition at which its aim is directed. The execrable policy of Cromwell had the effect he intended. His progress was as successful as it was rapid, every town before which he presented himself, overcome with consternation, opened its gates without resistance. The English in fact had no further difficulties to encounter, than what arose from fatigue and inclemency of the season. Disease made dreadful ravages amongst his troops, who perished in great numbers. Jones, who had distinguished himself considerably by his military genius, was swept off by disease. But while Cromwell himself seemed hemmed in by quickly advancing difficulties, calling for the exertion of all his capacity, and many in which it was useless, several English garrisons declared for him, and opening their gates, resolved to share the fortunes of their victorious countrymen. And thus is it generally seen, that the doubtful, the wavering, the timid, and the indifferent determine in favour of whatever appears to act upon a presumption of its own strength, or to have a tendency to established authority.

The defection of these garrisons put the final stroke to Ormond's authority. The Irish altogether actuated by religious or national prejudices could no longer be preserved in obedience to a protestant governor, the stream of whose fortune was turned. The clergy renewed their excommunications against him and his adherents, and thus added the terrors of superstition to those which arose from a victorious army, and when the ima-

gination becomes once subject to superstitious influences, it little matters what is chosen as the *charmed* means of captivating the mind, the difference is only in name, between the fanaticism of the cross, and that of the republican zealot. Thus the insolence and bigotry which every where defeated the best concerted operations of Ormond, arose from the dominion of the turbulent and factious clergy over their ignorant adherents. The confidence of these men arose in proportion to the adverse circumstances of the opposite party. The public misfortunes they malignantly imputed to the ill conduct of their governors, and laboured unceasingly to infuse their prejudices into all those who were within the sphere of their insinuations. Discontent, jealousies, murmurs, were the natural consequence. They had even ventured to insinuate that if their countrymen must accept of an heretical government they might as well submit to Cromwell, as to Ormond, and some were said to have offered prayers for the success of the heretical general. The people irritated by the burden of contribution and assessment, depressed by disappointment, and perhaps above all, weary of a declining cause, readily listened to these insinuations.

Cromwell, who had received a reinforcement from England, again took the field in the spring; he made himself master of Kilkenny and Clonmell, the only places where he met with any resistance. In the latter, Ormond, notwithstanding the infatuated obstinacy of the commissioners of trust (who were a dead weight upon every operation he projected), prevailed on Lord Roche, a nobleman possessing considerable power in the south, to collect a body of troops for the relief of the place, but these were encountered and defeated by Lord Broghill. The Romish bishop of Ross, who had

been particularly active in raising and animating these troops, was taken prisoner in the engagement. Thus distinguished in his opposition to the parliamentary forces, the unfortunate ecclesiastic could expect no mercy. Broghill however promised to spare his life, on condition, that he would use his spiritual authority with the garrison of an adjacent fort, and prevail on them to surrender. For this purpose he was conducted to the fort, but the gallant captive, unawed by the fear of death, unshaken in his principles of fidelity, exhorted the garrison to maintain their post resolutely against the enemies of their religion and their country, and instantly resigned himself to execution. His enemies could discover nothing in this self devotion but insolence and obstinacy, for he was a papist and a prelate! But it is pleasing to the historian thus to meet with one faithful among the faithless. During these transactions, Cromwell was repeatedly called into England, he therefore resigned his army to the care of Ireton, and embarked for that country destined to be the scene of his ambition. Had there been either union, order, or resolution among the Irish, it had not yet been too late to recover some importance, and to have maintained a successful war against the republicans. But the whole frame of Irish union seemed in a manner dissolved, Ormond imputed this to its true cause, the malignant practices of those clergy and their partizans who from their opposition to the peace, had uniformly traduced his government, exulted in his misfortunes, inflamed the general discontent, and by artfully increasing the dejection and terror of the people, drove them to compositions with the enemy which defeated his every purpose. With the concurrence of the commissioners of trust he therefore condescended to expostulate

with the clergy. For this purpose he summoned twenty-four bishops to attend him at Limerick, that he might confer with them and other of the nobility upon measures for the king's service, and the preservation of his people. Whatever might be their secret prejudices, they assembled with every external mark of respect and submission. With the open candour of a noble mind, acutely feeling the ingratitude it had experienced, and conscious of its own unvarying integrity, Ormond freely conferred with them on the distracted state of affairs, representing the ruin that must ensue to the nation, and the dishonour to himself, were he to submit to a mere nominal authority without the real power of a chief governor. If they had conceived, he added with a dignified firmness, any distaste to his administration, he desired they would express their sentiments with freedom, and proposed that they should either procure a due obedience to be paid to him, or recommend some other mode than his quitting the kingdom, if it might still be preserved. With affected deference they presented him with some propositions which they said would remove the prevailing discontents. Though loosely expressed, general, and indeterminate, Ormond gave such unequivocal and satisfactory answers to them that they were compelled to publish a declaration, that they would endeavour to root out from men's hearts the jealousies against the present government, &c. Every day, however, afforded fresh occasion of discovering the hypocrisy of these men, the inconsistency of their private practices with their public professions.

Ormond absolutely wearied by their insolent and insidious conduct, and mortified to be obliged to keep upon apparent terms with individuals who disgraced their profession, and acted in a manner

revolting to every honourable mind, declared his resolution of making use of the license he had received from the king, and withdrawing himself and his authority from Ireland. However acceptable this purposed removal might be to the clergy, the period was not quite arrived when it would suit their purposes. As they wished the nominal authority to be vested in one of their creatures, but had not yet agreed who among them would be most suitable, they wished to retain Ormond till they had settled this important point. A letter was addressed to the marquis, signed by the popish archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, informing him that they and their brethren, the prelates of Ireland, had resolved to assemble, to devise some measures for the defence of their religion, and the security of the nation. In a style highly imperious, they declared their readiness to receive any proposals from the marquis, and they did not want "willingness to prepare a good answer." The marquis replied with becoming dignity, declined making any further proposals, allowed their convention, and expressed his wishes that the result might be happy. Instead of receiving overtures, they were thus obliged to make them, which they soon did, in a strain so insolent, that it could hardly have been anticipated by those who were even accustomed to their imperious language. They required that Ormond should, without delay, repair to the king, leaving his authority "in the hands of some person faithful to his majesty, and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow."

It might have been supposed, that men who could frame an address so improper to the representative of royalty, would have rendered themselves the objects of popular resentment, and ex-

posed themselves to punishment. But ignorance and bigotry had stamped such a degree of reverence on the ecclesiastical character, that they were in fact deemed infallible, the dictates of the meanest of the order being of superior influence to all other power, either civil or military. It is a fact strongly illustrative of this assertion, that when a regiment was detached on some particular service, a seditious friar, seizing the colours, pronounced eternal perdition on those who should presume to march; the whole body, at his word, cast down their arms and dispersed. Even at the period we are immediately reviewing, those most zealous for the king, and most offended at the violence of their clergy, were yet so tenacious of their immunities, (granted in the darkest periods of popery, and now revived to their full extent,) that they could not harbour a thought so profane, as to inflict punishment on a churchman, by any other than an ecclesiastical authority. Ormond, therefore, had no alternative; inclined to condescension and forbearance, he summoned the bishops to a second conference; they refused to attend him. Unable longer to conceal his indignation at a faction so contemptible, he declared he would not now quit the kingdom, until forced from it by absolute necessity.

But the factious and bigoted spirit which the nuncio had infused into the clergy, was still so predominant, that they were not to be diverted from a purpose they had determined upon. They now published an instrument, entitled "A declaration of the prelates and dignitaries of the secular and regular clergy, against the continuance of his majesty's authority in the Marquis of Ormond, for the misgovernment of the subjects, the ill conduct of the army, and the violation of the peace." They complained of the partiality of

Ormond to Protestants, his aversion to the Catholic religion, his cruel treatment of its professors and clergy, and his misrepresentations to the king. They threatened to present articles of accusation against him to his majesty, and enjoined the people to obey no orders, but those of the congregation of clergy, until a general assembly should be convened. To add force to this peremptory edict, it was attended with a solemn sentence of excommunication against all those who should adhere to the lord lieutenant, or give him subsidy, contribution, or obedience. The folly, as well as the iniquity and ingratitude of this proceeding, was rendered more manifest, when the success of the parliamentary forces is considered. Ireton had advanced as far as Athlone, and thus the whole western province was in jeopardy. Lord Clanricarde marched to oppose them, but the sentence of excommunication was published at the head of his regiments, so as to discharge them from all obedience to government. Entreaties, remonstrances, expostulations, were all used with the congregation, but in vain. Neither danger, entreaty, nor the more obvious suggestions of duty or policy, could induce these stubborn and proud prelates to revoke their sentence. They consented only, with a stately pride, to suspend it during the expedition made for the relief of Athlone. In the infatuation of their self-created power, they proceeded to levy forces, so that the harassed Ormond had a new enemy to contend with. And although their expectations in this point were disappointed in a great degree, yet they still continued to invoke the full weight of divine vengeance upon the people, for contempt of their own censures, and those of the nuncio, to which they insolently ascribed the calamities of the nation. At this juncture an incident oc-

curred, which added fuel to the flame of bigoted fury. This was the concession of Charles in his declaration to the Scots, whereby he completely united himself with the covenanters, professed his hatred of all Catholics, and resolved not to tolerate them in any of his dominions; and among other particulars, expressed his utter abhorrence of the peace concluded by his father with the Irish papists, and ratified by himself, pronouncing it utterly void, on the ground of the unlawfulness of any peace made with bloody and idolatrous rebels.

Nothing could more opportunely serve the purposes of the congregation, for inflaming the people, than this declaration of Charles. Ormond well anticipated the use that would be made of it, and the haste that imputed it entirely to his representations with the king: "Why," said they, "should we be now bound by a peace he disclaims? Why submit to an authority which he in effect recalls? Let us remember our oath of association, and instead of shedding our blood in defence of a treaty thus disowned, let us hazard our lives to extort more favourable articles from the enemy."

Ormond, whatever his secret opinion might be, affected to treat this degrading declaration as a forgery; but private letters from Charles soon acknowledged it as wrung from him by the exigencies of his situation, insinuating at the same time, that it could not be binding in Ireland, as it was transacted without the concurrence of a privy council, earnestly pressing Ormond to retire in time from his Irish government. Betrayed, harassed, maligned, and insulted, Ormond could have no wish to remain, well knowing that it was impossible for him to maintain a contest with the king's open and secret enemies. Yet the honour

of the monarch, and his own integrity of office, determined him not to leave the factious and refractory any just ground of excuse for their unwarrantable acts. He therefore told them, that the declaration was forced from the king, therefore that until he could have the unrestrained assurances of his royal master's pleasure, he was resolved at all hazards to assert the lawfulness and validity of the late peace, provided in the meantime, that the acts of the congregation of prelates should be revoked, or punished as an usurpation of the royal authority, and that all obedience should be paid to him, an honourable maintenance provided to support the dignity of his station, his private fortune having been sacrificed to the public service. The answer of the commissioners of trust sufficiently indicated their opinion of the exorbitant requisitions of the clergy. They expostulated with them, but found them inexorable; they besought the marquis to await the result of a new general assembly, about to be convened. The assembly met, but it soon was evident they were far too indulgent and submissive to the haughty ecclesiastics. The latter deigned to publish a protestation, that by their proceedings they had no purpose of usurping on the king's authority, or the liberty of the people, graciously confessing, "that it did not belong to their jurisdiction so to do." The assembly, satisfied with this, did not even pass a censure on their acts, nor demand any security for their future peaceable conduct. Ormond was justly incensed at this disrespect shown to his station, and prepared for his departure. Alarmed at his determined purpose, every member of the assembly, not absolutely infatuated by religious bigotry, shuddered at the consequences of that anarchy, which they anticipated would ensue from the abandonment of

the lord lieutenant. They besought him at least to delegate the royal authority to some person faithful to the king, and acceptable to the nation. Ormond replied that he would comply with their desires, but he must first be satisfied that the person he should appoint would not be subject to the insults he had himself experienced, but be received with honourable submission. Upon these conditions, he appointed the Earl of Clanricarde his lord deputy, with directions to use or decline the commission as he should be treated by the proceedings of the assembly.

Had Clanricarde consulted selfish interests alone, every thing around him, every dictate of his feelings, was opposed to his assumption of the power thus delegated to him. But his ardent and devoted loyalty determined him even under the manifold and various disadvantages, to protect the royal cause against its numerous enemies in Ireland. He therefore intimated his acceptance of the government, provided due obedience was assured to him. After much evasion, prevarication, and insidiousness, the affair was settled. Clanricarde saw plainly a general disposition to submit to the parliamentarians, that the clergy in their blind zeal to abolish the royal power, encouraged this disposition, and that some immediate union, and the instant exertion of some authority were absolutely necessary, to prevent consequences fatal to the realm; therefore, defective and unsatisfying as the declaration of the assembly was, as referring to his authority, he hesitated no longer to declare his acceptance of the government.

The Catholics had now what they had long professed ardently to desire, a chief governor of their own religion. The protestant royalists were dispersed; some engaged with the parliamenta-

rians, many were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge; above forty thousand passed into foreign countries, and the republicans, well pleased to free the country of enemies to their cause, gave every facility to quit it. The spirit of bigoted faction, however, was still in full and active operation. Scarcely had the earl accepted his troublesome responsibility, when agents from Ireton proposed to the assembly to abandon their desperate cause, and treat with the parliamentarians. The proposition was at first rejected, yet by the influence of the restless and intriguing clergy, was resumed and supported. The popish bishop of Ferns, a distinguished partizan of the nuncio, and who was imbued with a large portion of a similar fiery zeal, and virulent hatred of the royal authority, was loud in favour of a treaty. Clanricarde remonstrated on the treachery and danger of such a measure, and several of the nobility boldly expressed their indignation at the clergy thus abandoning the interests of the king, declaring that as they had now so plainly manifested it was not individual objections to this or that governor, but the demolition of the royal power, which was their aim, they were resolved to defend it at every hazard. The clergy were unaccustomed to language so unequivocal and bold; they began to apprehend they had proceeded rather too far, and that in endeavouring to exalt the temple of their power beyond due proportion, they had weakened its foundation. A sudden and complete revolution of sentiment seemed to actuate them, they concurred with the assembly in opposing any treaty with the enemy, and when Clanricarde issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons from resorting to the quarters of the common enemy, or to enlist in their armies, the versatile prelates deigned to enforce this act of state, by fulminating

sentence of excommunication on all those who should not pay it strict obedience. Their hatred of Clanricarde and his cause, however, remained the same, although fear and self-interest taught them to conceal it beneath smoothness of manner, and guardedness of expression. They still held their secret consultations, still indulged their visionary schemes and hopes of establishing the papal, and of course, their own sovereign power in Ireland, by the intervention of some foreign prince. Impressed with these ideas, the Bishop of Ferns, their most zealous partizan, was actually sent to Brussels, to solicit the Duke of Lorraine to take their nation and religion under his princely protection. The character and circumstances of this prince belong to other histories, but it is requisite to take a cursory view of the latter, in order to explain the ground of an application which appears so extraordinary in the restless and ambitious clergy of Ireland.

Previous to the departure of Ormond, Charles in his extreme necessity had listened to a proposal of mortgaging the fort of Duncannon to the Duke of Lorraine, and Ormond was directed, if he approved of the contract, to deliver up the fort to persons appointed by the duke, upon receipt of the stipulated sum, twenty-four thousand pounds. Duncannon, however, being threatened with a siege, the security became of course precarious; difficulties arose respecting the payment of the sum, and after a long course of evasion, the agents of the duke departed, without bringing the treaty to any issue. It was subsequently renewed by Lord Taafe, who earnestly requested the duke to support the king's interests in Ireland, offering him the security of any place in the kingdom for repayment. The influence of private passion effected that which the melancholy

situation of Charles, as a brother prince, had been powerless to accomplish. The duke had married his cousin german, Nicole, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lorraine; but being afterwards captivated by Beatrix de Cusance, widow of the Count of Cantecroix, he married her while Nicole yet survived. He wished to engage the court of Rome to pronounce his first marriage void, and to legitimatize his children by his second union. His solicitations had hitherto proved ineffectual; but he flattered himself, by engaging with ardent zeal in defence of the Catholic cause in Ireland, *he might plead so much merit*, that the pope must eventually yield to his wishes. Lord Taafe, who was an insinuating and wily negociator, saw the weak point of attack; he flattered the partiality of the duke for the children of the princess Beatrix, and proposed a match between her infant daughter, and the Duke of York. The amorous Lorraine was delighted with the prospect of such an alliance for the child of a woman whom he idolised. It is even probable that Taafe, penetrating as he was, in the progress of the negociation, gradually extended his views, and flattered the sanguine Lorraine with many airy visions of future power in Ireland. But whatever were his designs and expectations, the duke gave substantial proof of his present favour, by furnishing Lord Taafe with five thousand pounds to purchase arms and ammunition. Taafe was surprised at this munificence, which Lorraine declared was but an earnest of his future favour.

It has been most justly remarked, that those who desire your assistance are so varied in their display of attachment, their praises so readily assume the air of independence and sincerity, that they equally impose upon themselves, and the individuals they desire to conciliate. We

will not pronounce that Lord Taafe and the duke were mutually under this pleasing illusion. The latter expressed the most pathetic commiseration for the Irish Catholics, declared he was ready, if invited, to appear personally in their defence, with ample supplies, at the same time hinting, that he should expect entire obedience, and not consent to act by commission from any individual whatever. These engagements Lord Taafe, however, did not venture to make, but he proposed to the duke, that he should send some distinguished person to Ireland, to treat with those in authority. Accordingly Lorraine immediately fixed upon Stephen de Hennin, Abbé de St. Catherine, for the purpose, who landed at Galway, while the Bishop of Ferns was on his way to Brussels, with a commission from the disaffected clergy to treat with the duke, they doubtless being well aware of his application to the court of Rome, and the use that might be made of his private partialities to effect their purposes.

No one could be more acceptable to them and their partisans than the envoy of Lorraine, who, although his letters of credence were addressed to the estates of the kingdom, finding the authority vested in the chief governor, with due decorum applied to him. To avoid every dispute and censure, Clanricarde appointed a committee composed of bishops, nobility, and gentry, to treat with the abbé, to receive his proposals, and to report them, with their opinion and advice. Nothing could be more candid and generous, yet they were altogether disregarded. The proposals of the envoy were, that the duke, his heirs, and with a saving of his majesty's rights, should be received as protectors of Ireland, and when there resident, to enjoy all authority. These proposals were debated by the committee among themselves,

disdaining to communicate with the lord deputy respecting them. Clanricarde complained of this disrespectful proceeding, as well as of the propositions of the envoy, as derogatory to the king's honour and authority. The bishops insisted that they should be accepted, as the only means left to save the nation. The abbé consented to some qualification of his demands; they were declared still inadmissible, consistent with the royal honour. At length the abbé consented to advance twenty thousand pounds, on the security of Limerick and Galway, and to refer articles relative to the protectorship, to be adjusted by a treaty at Brussels. In consequence of which a commission was formed to treat with the duke, and expressly instructed to carry on their negociation agreeably to the directions they should receive from the queen, the Duke of York, and the lord lieutenant. These limitations were, however, speedily forgotten.

The turbulent Bishop of Ferns, finding Lord Taafe was gone to Paris, attended the Duke of Lorraine, and was graciously received. He was attended by some of the disaffected clergy and others; they without scruple assured the duke, they would invest him with the entire power of the kingdom. The bishop was loud in his invectives against the commissioners sent by the deputy, their opposition to Rinuccini, and the appeal to Rome against his just sentence of excommunication. He declared, that he doubted not this excommunication was confirmed in heaven, that all its opposers, however great and exalted in the eye of man, were forsaken of God, and delivered up to Satan. He concluded much similar impious language, by an assurance, that God would never prosper any treaty directed by the deputy, a man excommunicated for many just causes, and

that the duke, he was convinced, when informed, could never consent to negociate with agents, deriving their authority from a withered and accursed hand. The commissioners of the lord deputy, to whom this insidious cant was addressed, received it with too much attention; they disclaimed his commission, pleading another and more unlimited authority. In the name of the nation and people of Ireland, they signed a treaty with the duke, by which he was in effect invested with the sovereignty, by the title of "Protector Royal." At the same time, one of the bigots was persuaded by the Bishop of Ferns to sign a petition to the pope, by which, in the name of the nation, he professed an entire submission to the holy see; the other declined subscribing; the name of Lord Taafe was inserted without his consent or knowledge. The clergy now exulted in the successful progress of their schemes; the airy prospects of a triumphant church, a stately hierarchy, protected by a Catholic prince, dazzled their fancies—but these were soon dispelled.

Whatever were the secret designs of Lorraine, he found they could not be promoted by any further treaty with the Irish, and a fair pretence occurred for declining it. He received from the lord deputy a formal protest against the proceedings of his agents, so contrary to instructions, and so derogatory to the king's honour.

The king's interests grew so desperate in Ireland, that there soon was nothing left to purchase the assistance of Lorraine, even upon the most favourable terms. But the negociation had transported the clergy to positive extravagance. Their synods were convened, the duke was declared protector of the nation, those were excommunicated who refused to acknowledge the nomination. They took an oath of secrecy, and resolved

that the prelates of each province should choose two persons to compose a new supreme council, with full powers, under the direction of the clergy. They also prepared a sentence of excommunication against Clanricarde and his adherents, to be published when they should think fit. But they were soon roused from this dream of power and grandeur, by the flame of war surrounding them.

Ireton, the new parliamentary deputy of Ireland, at the head of an army thirty thousand strong, prosecuted with vigour the work of subduing the Irish, and with a similar success to that which attended Cromwell. He punished without mercy all those who had taken an active part in the massacres. Sir Phelim O'Nial, among many others, suffered an ignominious death. From the arrival of Owen O'Nial, this barbarous conspirator had acted only an inferior part in the terrible drama, without notice, esteem, or honour. During the administration of Clanricarde, he emerged from his obscurity, and rendered him some assistance, but from repeated defeats, was again obliged to shelter himself in a remote concealment. Lord Caulfield, the heir of him he had so barbarously murdered, discovered and dragged him to justice. In the last period of his life, he discovered a spirit and resolution worthy a noble character.

After the siege of Limerick, which he took, Ireton executed the severest vengeance on those who had been the most distinguished partisans of the nuncio, and most inveterate opposers of the English government; of all those who had been excepted from mercy, the Bishop of Limerick alone escaped. O'Brien, the popish prelate of Emly, was condemned, and instantly executed. With him were also led to execution some magistrates, the most turbulent and seditious of the nuncio's

faction. Ireton caught the fatal infection which raged in several parts of Ireland, and had scarcely accomplished the reduction of Limerick, when he fell a victim to it. The command of the forces devolved on General Ludlow, who continued to push the advantages against the Irish, and every where obtained an easy victory.

After every exertion possible to maintain his station, and to serve the interests of the king, Clanricarde, beset on every side, and even his personal safety every moment in jeopardy, by the treachery of those who surrounded him, found himself obliged to pursue the king's instructions, and accepted conditions from the victorious and persevering republicans. He retired from a country now lost to his royal master, whom he had so faithfully served, with the mortifying conviction, that it was so lost by the illiberal bigotry, overweening pride, and blind policy of men, intoxicated by an imaginary consequence, by their wicked factions, and obstinate perverseness, in contending against their own interests, and violently rejecting every measure suggested, as necessary to secure their rights and privileges. This virtuous nobleman soon after died in England, whither he had retired universally respected, esteemed, and loved.

CHAPTER XX.

Fleetwood appointed to the government of Ireland—Four individuals united with him as commissioners of parliament—They declare by proclamation that the rebellion is subdued—The proceedings of the commissioners—Effects of the revolution, which placed Cromwell in power, upon the Irish—Henry Cromwell sent to Ireland—Jealousy of Cromwell—Parties inimical to his accession of power—Appoints Fleetwood lord deputy of Ireland, with a council—His instructions—Suspicions of Cromwell's enemies—A refractory spirit subsists—Alarm of Cromwell—Liberal and equitable government of Henry Cromwell—His popularity—The protector supported—His death.

A. D. 1653.

THE power of the parliament of England was now to effect the settlement of a country wherein existed a terrible combination of personal suffering and political discontent. After some intrigue and debate in the English parliament, Fleetwood, who had married the widow of Ireton, was appointed to the government of Ireland. On his arrival war seemed at an end, and the country wasted by its long commotions was to be recruited and restored to some degree of order and tranquillity. For this purpose four individuals were united with Fleetwood in the civil government, with the title of commissioners of parliament. Their first act was to declare by proclamation that the rebellion was subdued; thus adventurers were assured of speedily receiving the lands for which they had advanced sums, and the inhabitants were encouraged to resume their agricultural labours.

Courts were established at Dublin and Athlone to hear and adjudge all claims which were to be exhibited and established within a limited time, that all proprietors might be freed from future litigation. Such various arrangements engaged a considerable time, and were attended with complaints, disputes, and jealousies; nor in the distribution of lands were the commissioners and their subordinate agents inattentive to their own interests. Meantime the revolution which vested Cromwell with the protectorship of the three kingdoms took place in England. Various were the effects of this intelligence upon the Irish, according to the peculiar bias and situation of those who received it; by the army with peculiar satisfaction, by some fanatics with invective and resentment, by Ludlow and other zealous republicans with indignation and abhorrence; they could not conceal their feelings when they found that Cromwell had succeeded in appropriating to himself the advantages both of fortuitous events and the labours of others, and of captivating the people by an exterior of severe virtue, which the obtuseness of his feelings and the coldness of his heart enabled him to assume, as might suit his purposes. The proposal of proclaiming the protector produced a fortnight's debate; but at length Fleetwood with his colleagues and a few principal officers resolved upon it.

Ludlow, disgusted, mortified, indignant, retired from the offensive pageantry, declaring his resolution no longer to act as a commissioner, yet retaining his post of lieutenant-general, in order to preserve his influence in the army. Cromwell, whose vigilance never slumbering, extended on all sides, was doubtless aware of Ludlow's indignation at his attaining a power so nearly allied to royalty, he accordingly sent his son Henry into Ireland

to sound the disposition of the army, and to reconcile all parties to his usurpation. No one could be better suited to this conciliating commission than Henry Cromwell, penetrating, just, and generous, of amiable manners, and possessed of a vigorous capacity. Ireland might be considered as entirely in the possession of the army. Deeply was Henry affected by the miserable state of the people and the universal desolation arising from the virulence of the English against the old inhabitants, and the corruption, oppression, and fraud which pervaded the civil departments. He endeavoured to reconcile the disaffected, and to win over Ludlow to his father's interests, but in vain, for it was not the least of his discontents, that after having laboured and devoted himself to the common cause, he now found himself excluded from power and its concomitants.

The document, entitled the *Instrument of Government*, by which Cromwell was invested with authority, required that a parliament should be summoned for the three nations, now united into one commonwealth. Thirty members were to be chosen for Ireland, and in spite of the avowed opposition and indignation of Ludlow, those were chosen as should be most acceptable to the protector; but even this could not dissipate the jealousy Cromwell entertained of the commissioners, the republicans being as it were dethroned by his usurpation, were the party he had the greatest reason to apprehend. Those were, says Hume, divided into two sets of men, seemingly of most opposite principles, but were in fact united by a similarity of character and principles. The first were known under the designation of millenarians, who insisted that dominion being founded on grace, all distinction in magistracy must be abolished; except what arose from piety and holiness, who

expected suddenly the second coming of Christ upon earth, and who pretended that the saints in the mean time, that is themselves, were alone entitled to govern. The second were the deists, who had no other object than political liberty, who denied in toto the truth of revelation, and broadly insinuated that all the various sects, so heated against each other, were alike founded in folly and in error. Men of genius and views so daring were not contented with the ancient and legal forms of government, but challenged a degree of freedom beyond what they ever expected to enjoy under any form of monarchy. This latter class were perfectly hated by Cromwell, because having no enthusiasm he could neither govern, deceive, or overreach them, he therefore hated them with great rigour and disdain, denominating them *heathens*. It was obvious that individuals of this character were considered by him as dangerous agents of his power. He therefore appointed Fleetwood lord deputy of Ireland for three years, assigning him a new council to assist in the administration. Fleetwood was a millenarian, or what was familiarly styled fifth monarchy man; but although a republican he was a fanatic, and possessing a weak judgment he was biassed by the suggestions of others, which in fact neutralised his free principles. He, with his colleagues, were instructed to improve the interest of the commonwealth in Ireland, to suppress idolatry, popery, superstition, and profaneness, to encourage godly and gifted ministers of the word, to execute the laws against the scandalous and malignant, to provide for the advancement of learning, to attend to the revenue with diligence and economy, and to dispense with the orders of the late parliament, which had decreed that all the old Irish should be confined to Connaught, a policy which was

indeed as absurd as it was found to be impracticable. This last clause, so indulgent to the Irish, did not escape the notice of Cromwell's enemies; they evidently saw that his aim was to conciliate all parties to his interest. It could not but be observed by those jealous of his aspirings, that the form of administration he had established in Ireland was more congenial to royal than republican government, and strongly indicated his purpose of establishing the monarchical power in his family. The army were discontented at the continued delay respecting their divisions of land, and utterly dissatisfied with the present government. Yet in the army was laid the basis of the power attained by this extraordinary man; and in fact their interests were so strongly identified with his, that he seemed secure of their attachment: but all military government is precarious, particularly when it has to compete with religious prejudices.

Cromwell, by the fanaticism he (to effect his own purposes) encouraged in his soldiers, had infused a spirit which rendered it a difficult and delicate task to govern them: so that he who directed their movements often had reason to tremble at the power of their mighty and complicated operations. It had been the constant lesson of Cromwell, that the office of king was an impious usurpation upon the authority of Christ; but when he assumed a power so nearly analogous, the natural idea arose that a protector could not be altogether compatible with the divine authority. Many, therefore, became his inveterate enemies when they saw his single authority was established, against which he had so often made the most violent and solemn protestations. Hence, when Cromwell recalled a detachment from Ireland to England in order to strengthen himself against

some attempts of the royalists, he found he had lost much influence over them. They mutinied, and exclaimed, that they had engaged to fight against the Irish rebels, but in England they might possibly be employed against their best friends.

Ludlow was regarded as the principal mover of this refractory spirit, as he took an active part in inflaming the discontented, and was particularly industrious in disseminating several tracts published against Cromwell. These circumstances both offended and alarmed the protector; he directed the lord deputy to require Ludlow to surrender his commission, and in case of refusal to send him prisoner to England. Ludlow however boldly resisted a power his principles would not admit, and refused to yield a commission received from the parliament. At length he was prevailed on to promise, on his parole, that he would present himself to Cromwell, and in the mean time not to act against the present government. Cromwell was very sensible that in the present discontents, such a man might prove very troublesome and dangerous in England, he therefore reversed his order and directed that he should be detained in Ireland.

Ireland at this period presents nothing in the smallest degree relative to our subject, or indeed for even general detail. The natives broken and subdued, the English conquerors waiting with impatience the rewards of their valour, the government employed in suppressing murmurs and discontent, and in reconciling the minds of men to the changes which had taken place, and the existing government. To effect these desirable ends Henry Cromwell was again employed, first in a military command, subsequently as lord deputy, in the place of Fleetwood. The liberal and equitable spirit of his government, his justice, impar-

tiality, and benevolence had the happiest effects. He proved "a governor from whom he himself might learn," were the words of the inflexible and severe Cromwell. Henry in fact established himself so firmly in the hearts of the people, that they became entirely reconciled to his father's interests.

At all times indeed it will be found that there are numbers who make it a principle to adhere to any power which is uppermost, and to support the established government. Thus when Cromwell received a petition from the officers of his own regiment, avowing their dissatisfaction at his government, addresses were transmitted from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland expressing their resolution of adhering to the protector against all those whose particular animosities endeavoured to re-embroil the public. We read with astonishment this revolution of sentiment in a people to whom no form of government had ever before appeared satisfactory. Are principles the mere creatures of circumstances? or were these concessions not the suggestions of reason, but the dictates of fear? So long accustomed to anarchy, perhaps the people were glad to repose beneath the shelter of despotism. Happy however was it for both Cromwell and the Irish that they were subjected to the mild and intelligent sway of Henry, whose authority was directed and exercised in a manner to preserve a due subordination and to improve the national energies of the people.

Things remained in this state of progressive improvement and tranquillity till the period of Cromwell's death; but the moment when that master spirit ceased to animate the potent hand which had wielded the government of three kingdoms through perils and through dangers, formed

an important epoch in history: we shall pause awhile, not to delineate with our feeble pencil a character so complicated, but to take a general retrospect of the seventeenth century, as far as relates to religion and literature to the advanced period of the century at which we are arrived.

CHAPTER XXI.

Religion important, if regarded merely as to its influence on civil government—The Romish faith loses considerable ground—Luxury and magnificence of the cardinals—Ecclesiastic affairs—Division of monastic orders into two general classes—Congregation of St. Maur—Enquiring spirit of the age—Benedictines—Jansenists—Oratory of St. John—Priests of the missions—Daughters of charity—Attacks against the Jesuits—Advantages of literature derived from them—Religious system of the Romish church not improved—Immoral tendency of the institution of Jesuits—Their great activity and influence—Translation of the Old Testament into Irish—Retrospect of religious opinions—Archbishop Laud—His error of judgment—Sectaries enjoy liberty under Cromwell—His scheme for regulating the church—Anecdote of Cromwell and Usher—Quakers propagate their tenets—Animosities and controversies—Independents—Presbyterians—The Catholics—Political sentiments of the independents—Cromwell kept all, (however discordant,) in some degree of union—Protestant missions established—Society for the propagation of the Gospel—Boyle's Lectures—Flourishing state of the sciences—Bacon—Empire of superstition shaken—Improvements in the study of history—Its advantages—Eloquence and languages—Painting and sculpture decline—The causes—Cromwell's patronage of the arts—Civil wars favourable to eloquence and oratory.

RELIGION must ever be deemed a subject of the highest interest, speaking even of it abstractedly, as referring to its connection with civil government. For it is assuredly only in proportion as we succeed in impressing men with the idea of a constant over-ruling Providence that we can either work on their fears or their affections. Nothing but that principle which connects us with futurity

can possess power to withdraw us from worldly interests, so far as to prevent our immoderate devotion to the disorderly impressions of our senses, and the tyranny of our passions, and most assuredly men both individually and in society must ever sink in the scale of nationality and virtue if, in endeavouring to form the chain of duties and moral principles, they do not place the last link above sublunary calculations and beyond the limits of their social conventions, for without this grand connection it must ever be liable to separation amidst the collisions of human interests and the fluctuation of human passions. At the period of our present retrospect this principle, so necessary and so interesting to man, was peculiarly the great spring of his actions and determinations.

We have hitherto traced the rising and the declining power of a dominant hierarchy holding the ascendant both in the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of nations, but the great event of the reformation elicited the intellectual capacities of men, hitherto checked and kept in abeyance by the interdicts which forbade all discussion and display of thought, and although these were now frequently manifested by fantastic whims and fanatical absurdities, still it was the search of truth, and that search must ever be a noble employment. Religion in general had indeed, during the period we speak of, many enemies to contend with. A number of writers arose whose productions were levelled against all principles of faith, or designed to confine the belief of men to natural religion alone; but on the other side were still superior numbers of writers, who, by their luminous compositions, beautifully and strikingly illustrated the dignity and intrinsic excellences of the gospel.

In the early period of the 17th century Rome, in preserving some of her external marks of power,

and grandeur, lost the substance which she had in part derived from her spiritual and partly from her temporal dominion. That authority which had once so nearly subjected Europe and threatened an universal monarchy of her pontiffs, now lost considerable ground, as the important maxim was generally admitted, "that the power of the Roman pontiff is entirely confined to matters of religious or spiritual nature, and cannot under any pretext whatsoever extend to civil transactions or worldly affairs." Her power in one half of the Christian world was even contemned, "struggling for prerogatives, once regarded as unalienable rights, upholding jurisdictions which many considered but as long established abuses, the sovereign pontiffs continued indeed to exhibit some semblance of their ancient supremacy, and by much pretension, deep policy, and other arts in which they were adepts, they hid from the world, if not from themselves, the decay of their influence and the precariousness of their sway." In proportion as they experienced this internal decay and the gradual concentration of their power to the immediate precincts of their court, their exterior marks of grandeur appear to have increased. The eminent writer quoted above thus describes the luxury and magnificence of the cardinals:—

"The journey of a cardinal," she observes, "to his diocese, or when on a diplomatic mission, resembled the royal progress of a sovereign, rather than the journey of a subject. In Italy they were generally accompanied by a train of a hundred domestics, including in this denomination their chaplains and the ecclesiastics comprised in the household. Their carriages were all glass and gold, with silver springs and velvet linings, and their sumpter mules were laden with rich furniture and with bedsteads, which were sometimes com-

posed of solid silver, set with precious stones, and provided with mattrasses of eider down, while a troop of cavalry brought up the rear: it must be admitted a very necessary accompaniment to such a rich cortége."

Amongst the inconsistent practices which marked the ecclesiastics was their addiction to theatrical amusements, which reached even to the vatican itself. Indeed the corruptions that had too conspicuously marked the several orders of the clergy in preceding ages were not diminished in this. Dignitaries rarely owed their elevation to their learning or merit; patronage, service rendered to men in power, connections, and simoniacal practices were, generally speaking, the steps to preferment. There were, it is admitted, many individuals possessing both piety and virtue who enlightened this period of moral obscurity; but these rare patterns were either ruined by the stratagems of their resentful or envious brethren, or were suffered to remain in obscurity without the encouragement and support requisite to enable them to execute effectually their pious and laudable purposes. The same treatment awaited those among the inferior orders of the clergy who endeavoured to maintain the cause of truth and virtue: while we acknowledge that among the prelates and other of the clergy there were many pleasing exceptions from the general prevalence of immorality, it is also incumbent on us to do justice to the merit of some pontiffs of this century, who used their utmost endeavour to reform the manners of the ministers of religion. It is however a subject of surprise to us, who can dispassionately view the past, that these pontiffs, enlightened and virtuous as they were, did not perceive insuperable obstacles to the success of their counsels and the fruits of their wise and salutary

edicts, subsisting in the very interior constitution of the Romish Church and in the very nature of the papal government; nor is it scarcely conceivable how they could for a moment encourage the thought, that it was possible by any human agency to retain order and good morals among that prodigious multitude of persons of all characters, classes, and dispositions subjected to their jurisdiction. Though the monks conducted themselves with much more circumspection, and propriety than in former times, yet they had veery where departed from the spirit of their founders and the primitive laws of their several institutions.

It is from this period we are to date the division of the monastic orders into two general classes, one of these comprehends the reformed monks, the other the unreformed, by far the most numerous. Among the reformed, a particular attention is due to certain benedictine societies or congregations who surpass the other monastic orders, both in the excellence and utility of their rules and institutions, and in the zeal and perseverance with which they adhere to them. The most eminent of these congregations is that of St. Maur. In it are a select number of persons distinguished by their genius and talents, set apart for the study of sacred and profane literature, more especially of history and antiquity. This learned part of the society is furnished with all the means and materials of knowledge in a rich abundance, and with every thing that can tend to facilitate their labours and render them successful. The republic of letters has derived signal advantages from the establishment of this congregation whose numerous and admirable productions have shed abroad light upon various branches of learning. Their researches grasped in

their comprehensive power the whole of science. The enquiring spirit of the age animated countless minds, and proceeded with philosophy for its guide, by great experimental truths to ameliorate the condition of mankind. The benedictines of whom we speak, still maintain their literary fame, by their publications in the different branches of sacred and profane literature. Their order was founded in 1600, by Gregory the fifteenth, and greatly enriched by the munificence of Urban the eighth. There were, however, still existing some rigid censors, who had in their view the ancient monastic discipline, and who regarded the present reforms as trifling and imperfect. They considered a monk as a person obliged by the sanctity of his professions to spend the whole of his days in prayers, tears, contemplation, and silence, in the perusal of holy books, and in the hardships of manual labour, nay they went so far as to maintain that all other designs and all other occupations, however laudable and excellent in themselves, were entirely foreign from the monastic vocation, and on that account vain and sinful in persons of that order. This severe discipline so unsuited to human frailty, so directly opposed to human duty, so inconsistent with the mild precepts of a gentle, social, and cheerful religion, was adopted by the Jansenists, who reduced it to practice in certain places, and in none with more success and reputation than in the female convent of Port Royal. The example of the Jansenists excited a fanatical emulation in consequence of which, several monastics exerted themselves in the imitation of the austere model. They were all surpassed by De Rancé, abbot of la Trappe, who with ardent zeal and indefatigable perseverance, introduced into his monastery this discipline to its utmost perfection of austerity.

Several new monastic institutions were erected

during this century, among which we may rank those of the Oratory of St. John, to which we have adverted in our illustrative note; also that of the priests of the missions founded by Vincent de Paul and formed into a regular congregation by Urban the eighth in 1632. The rules prescribed by this society, lay its members under three obligations. First, to purify themselves, and daily to aspire to higher degrees of sanctity and perfection, by prayer, meditation, devout books, and other holy exercises. Secondly, to employ eight months in the year in the villages among the peasantry, in order to instruct them in the principles of religion, form them to the practice of piety and virtue, accommodate their differences, and administer consolation and relief to the sick, the sorrowful, and the indigent. Thirdly, to inspect and govern the seminaries in which persons designed for holy orders receive their education, and to instruct the candidates for the ministry, in the sciences which relate to their respective vocations. Who can doubt but that the institution of this order was the work of enlightened and benevolent minds? incalculable benefit has been derived to society by the pious labours of its members. Many a conscience has been roused from its lethargy, many a heart has been softened from its obduracy, many a mind been irradiated with the light of religion by the simple soul searching discourses of these apostles of the poor. With such men were the revolutionary prisons of the nineteenth century filled; proscribed, persecuted, ridiculed, banished, while a temple was erected to reason! The priests of the missions were also entrusted with the direction and government of a female order called "daughters of charity," whose most appropriate office was to administer assistance and relief to indigent persons who were confined to their abodes by sick-

ness or infirmity. This order was founded by a noble lady, noble in the most exalted meaning of the term, as applying to the soul's nobility, called Louisa de Gras, and received in 1660 the approbation of Clement the ninth.

At this period the society of the Jesuits had to withstand attacks from all quarters. The severe Jansenists in particular opposed them. But all hostile efforts failed in overturning that fabric of profound and insidious policy which that mentally gifted order had raised under the protection of the pontiffs, and those princes and nations into whose grace and favour they had insinuated themselves. It seemed indeed as if opposition had strengthened their interest, and added to their influence and prosperity, instead of abasing them. Amidst the storm they preserved themselves buoyant and calm, steered their course with dexterity and prudence, attained the safe harbour, and arose to the very summit of spiritual authority. In the republic of letters, the Jesuits, Benedictines, priests of the oratory, and Jansenists, each had their respective merits. The Jesuits for a long time possessed the undisputed pre-eminence. This suffered some eclipse from the rising lustre of the Benedictines, and it is to the emulative jealousy of these rival orders we owe many of the best editions of the Greek and Latin writers, the discovery of many curious records and documents that illustrate the history of remote times, antiquities of various countries, and other valuable advantages of literature. To the same spirit of emulation may we trace the labours of the priests of the oratory, and the Jansenists who have each enriched the literary world with the fruits of their genius and industry. In taking a retrospective view of the religious system of the Romish church during this century, as referring

to articles of faith, and rules of practice, we are compelled to say, no improvement seems to have taken place. We find the same intellectual disparity between the many and the few; the superiority being made the instrument of delusion, and rendering the inferior easy dupes and victims. In fact, the church far from having emerged from its darkness, had contracted further corruptions, and sunk into greater degeneracy, partly by the negligence of the pontiffs, and partly by the dangerous maxims and influence of the Jesuits. The foundations of morality were sapped by these ecclesiastics; this is acknowledged by the wisest and worthiest of the Catholics, and every one of the communion who has a zeal for the advancement of true Christian knowledge and genuine piety. The very genius of the institution of the Jesuits enabled them to extend and to fix their influence. Unlike the other monastic societies secluded in cloisters to work out their own salvation apart from the cares and pleasures of the world, the Jesuits considered themselves as born for action, chosen soldiers, bound continually to exert themselves for the service of God, and the pope, his vicar upon earth. They are entirely exempted from monastic functions, but are required to attend to all the transactions of the world, on account of the influence they may have on religion and the interests of the Roman see, they are directed to study the dispositions of persons possessing worldly power and influence, to cultivate their friendship, insinuate themselves into their confidence, and thus a spirit of action and intrigue is infused into the very constitution of the order. The jesuits peculiarly gifted with every accomplishment and acquirement which it was in the power of talent to impart; obtained the direction of the education of youth in every Catho-

lic country of Europe. They became the confessors of almost all its monarchs, an office which enabled them generally to direct the movements of the great political machine of states. They were the spiritual guides of almost every person of rank or power, and possessed the highest degree of confidence and interest with the papal court. The advantages derivable from these circumstances are obvious; they formed the youthful mind, they possessed at different periods the direction of courts. They mingled in all affairs. They took part in every intrgue and revolution. Unhappily for mankind, this vast influence was exerted too frequently with most pernicious effect. The fundamental maxim of the institution which was to regard the interest of the order as the capital object to which every other was to be sacrificed, led them frequently to propagate a system of pliant morality, which authorised almost every action, that the most audacious or crafty politician would wish to perpetrate. As the prosperity of the order was intimately connected with the preservation of papal authority, the Jesuits have of course ever been the most zealous patrons of those doctrines tending to exalt ecclesiastical power on the ruins of civil government. They have contended for the entire independence of ecclesiastics on the civil magistrates. Its members, proud of the distinction which their zeal for the papal power gave them, considered it as their peculiar duty and function to combat the opinions, and to check the progress of the Protestants. For this purpose they have made use of every art, have employed every weapon with which their firm union, unbounded influence, and high intellectual superiority furnished them. They have set themselves in most formidable array against every gentle or tolerating measure in their favour, and have in-

cessantly stirred up against them all the rage of ecclesiastical and civil persecution. It is certain that by these means the Jesuits may justly be deemed as responsible for most of the pernicious effects arising from that corrupt and dangerous casuistry, from those extravagant tenets concerning ecclesiastical power, that intolerant spirit, which have been the disgrace of the church of Rome, and which have brought so many calamities upon civil society. If truth thus obliges us to advert to the pernicious influences of this extraordinary body of men, it equally demands us to admit that in many respects they have merited the praise of society. In science and industry they rank high, and by the improvements they made for facilitating the instruction of youth, they have much contributed towards intellectual improvement. More particularly in the new world were their mental energies displayed for the good of man. There they made the uncivilized of their fellow beings to taste the sweets and the benefits of society, and the blessings of security and order. Respected and beloved almost to adoration, a few Jesuits presided with paternal care over some multitudes of Indians. But even in these meritorious efforts of the order for the good of mankind, their genius and spirit were mingled and displayed by their aiming at an independent power subject to the society alone. At length, the ambition, the innovations and power of this great body long observed and felt, with the pernicious effects upon the political and moral world were so plainly displayed, that its downfall was the consequence. The emperor, Charles the fifth, thought it expedient to check its aspiring progress in his dominions. It was expelled from England by proclamation of James the First, 1604. From Venice, in 1606; from Portugal, 1759; from

France, 1764; Spain and Sicily, in 1767, and totally suppressed and abolished by Clement the fourteenth, 1773.*

* This commanding order is now revived. A college is erected in the very centre of England, and in Ireland the order has attained influence: there is a very extensive establishment of them at Castlebrown, in the county of Kildare. In the year 1814, Castlebrown was purchased of Wogan Brown, Esq. by the Jesuits, for a college, at the sum of 16,000*l.* Only four Jesuits then came from Palermo; they were Irishmen, educated abroad: each had a peculiar department assigned him. Mr. Kenny, the principal, subsequently passed over to America, to found an establishment there; he however returned, a Mr. Aylmer being the principal. In 1817 they had two hundred pupils only; but were building additions to accommodate five hundred, besides noviciates to increase the order. In the short space of time since their purchase they had built nearly a little town, at the rear of the college, having their own artizans and tradesmen, all belonging to the order as lay brothers. Many more individuals resorted thither from Italy and from Russia, when the Emperor Alexander banished them from his empire.

The strictest silence is observed by the pupils, who appear not to dare to speak without permission of their tutors: besides the regular pupils there are a number of paupers, whom they teach gratuitously. Their refectory in the new building is eighty feet in length. The dormitories are admirably constructed; one of them contains one hundred and forty-four beds, placed in squares of sixteen in a square, and built up like pews in a church, so that no pupil can be overlooked. Six of the tutors watch in turns during the night, that not a word may be spoken. The boys have a separate apartment wherein they wash, and in another they dress. In the latter boxes are ranged round, containing brushes, combs, &c. In all the apartments occupied by the pupils there are private closets, from which every thing passing can be seen and heard, without the boys suspecting they are watched. They all answer, not to their names, but their number, and that is increasing every day from the reputation of the college. They know nothing of their own clothes, but when new are required they find them provided, and no inquiry is to be made about them. When the weather is unfavourable they exercise in the cloisters, which surround three sides of the building.

The correspondence of this society is extensive, and they have succeeded in having a post office established at Clare, the nearest village to the college. They do not deny being

During this age great and bitter contests occurred between the Jesuits and Jansenists, which being referred to papal decision, the interest of

Jesuits, and wear the peculiar habit of their order. Their last general was a native of Poland, named Broniski. A few years since there was an election for a new one, when a deputation from Castlebrown went to Rome to attend. Their general, chosen for life by deputies from different societies, possess a supreme and independent power, extending to every person and every case. By his sole authority he nominates or removes every officer of the order: in him is vested the sovereign administration of the funds and revenues, which are large; to his commands every member is required, not only to yield outward obedience, but to resign up his sentiments, will and inclination:—in fact, mere passive instruments to execute his mandates. There is not in the annals of mankind such a complete despotism, and that not executed over a confined body but over men dispersed throughout the whole earth.

Every novice who offers himself as a candidate for entering the order is obliged to manifest his conscience to the superior, and is required to confess, not only his sins and defects, but to discover the inclinations, passions, and bias of his soul, and this must be renewed every six months. Not satisfied by thus penetrating into the recesses of the heart, each member is directed to observe vigilantly the words and actions of the novices, they are constituted spies upon their conduct, and are bound to disclose every thing of importance concerning them to the superior, and these reports are faithfully and regularly transmitted to the general, with the most minute details respecting the character of each person, his abilities natural and acquired, his temper, experience in affairs, and the particular department for which he is best calculated. These reports, digested and arranged, are registered, that the general may at one comprehensive view survey the state of the society in every corner of the earth, and be able to choose the instruments which his absolute power can employ in any service for which he sees meet to destine them. It is obvious that this system of profound and artful policy must effect a mighty change in the opinions of those submitted to its action.

This order have an establishment also at Hardwicke-place, Dublin, and the members frequently preach charity sermons in the several papal chapels in the metropolis. There is a branch society connected with them in another part of Kildare to that we have mentioned. They are very reserved in replying to any questions or in-

the Jesuits prevailed. The holy scriptures did not acquire any new degree of public respect and authority under the pontiffs, on the contrary, in proportion to the zeal manifested by the reformers to open the sacred treasure to the world, so were the art and dexterity of the Romanists employed to prevent it, or at least to have the scripture explained in a manner which they were well aware would open the eyes of the people to the undue pretensions of their church, and strike at the foundations of its grandeur and power. About the middle of this century, however, Bedel, bishop of Kilmore,* set on foot a translation of the Old Testament into the Irish laanguage. The New Testament and the Liturgy had been previously

quiries respecting their society, pretending not to hear, or else evade: on a visitor inquiring at Castlebrown if they were aided by private subscriptions, the reply of the member addressed was, "That door, sir, leads to such an apartment."

Their influence is very great: since they settled in the county all Roman catholic servants are forbidden to attend domestic prayer in the protestant families where they live; and very few are suffered to peruse the Scriptures. But the establishment attended with the greatest danger to the protestant interest in Ireland is Clondalkin, where their itinerant emissaries are instructed. The order appears fully aware of the fruitfulness of the soil it wishes to cultivate, as it has offered 13,000*l.* for Furnace, near Naas, and 9000*l.* for another fine mansion near Cork. The junior college also at Rahon, near Tullamore is in a prosperous state.

* Kilmore, in the county of Cavan, and province of Ulster, a bishop's see. It was anciently called Clunes or Clunis, viz. "The sequestered place." It is situated near Loch Erne. St. Fedlemid founded this bishopric in the sixth century, but it was afterwards removed to an obscure village called Fribund, where it continued until the year 1454, when Andrew Macbrady, Bishop of Fribunna, erected a church on the site of that founded by St. Fedlemid, to whose memory it was dedicated, and denominated Kilmure or Kilmore, viz. "The great Church." At present there is neither cathedral, chapter, nor canons belonging to this see. The small parish church adjoining serving for the purpose of a cathedral.

translated. The bishop employed a person named King, to execute the work. But not understanding the oriental languages, he was obliged to translate it from the English version. The work was received by the bishop, who after having compared the Irish with the English translation, collated it with the Hebrew, the LXX, and the Italian version of Diodati. When this was finished, the bishop would himself have been at the charge of the impression, but his design was arrested upon advice given to the lord lieutenant, and the archbishop of Canterbury, that it would be a disgraceful thing for a nation to publish a Bible translated by such an incompetent person as King. The manuscript, however, went to press in 1685.

We have seen that the churches of England and Ireland had long been like vessels tost on a tempestuous ocean, unable to find anchorage. The opposition of the papists on the one hand, exerting every energy to support the powerful system of priestly domination, which for ages had governed the nations of Europe; and the discontents, the rising hopes, and increasing power of the puritans, we have seen effecting revolutions of opinion and sentiment, which had fearful influence on the happiness and well being of society.

While these controversies were in full action at the beginning of this century, James I. died, the bitter enemy of the puritan doctrine and discipline, in which he had been brought up, the inflexible and ardent patron of the Arminians, to whose ruin and condemnation in Holland he had been singularly instrumental, and the most zealous defender of episcopal government, against which he had more than once expressed himself in the strongest terms. It is asserted, that this facile monarch had formed serious intentions of

embracing the faith of Rome. His unfortunate son had it much at heart, to bring to perfection the designs of his father, firmly to establish the supremacy of the royal power above every authority; the reduction of all the churches of Great Britain and Ireland, under the jurisdiction of bishops, whose government he regarded as of divine appointment, as well as best adapted to guard the privileges and majesty of the throne; and lastly, the suppression of the opinions and institutions peculiar to Calvinism, as tending far too much to the encouragement of civil liberty, and the modelling of the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, and polity of the Church of England, after the spirit and constitution of the primitive church. To effect his wishes, we have seen he made choice of Laud, Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, an individual possessing a complicated character, of great qualities and great defects. This prelate executed the plans of his royal master with an intemperance that defeated its object, and raised him up as bitter and violent enemies the whole vast host of puritans; for in reviving many religious rites and ceremonies, although they were stamped with the sanction of antiquity, yet were quite unsuited to the spirit of the times, and had been abrogated for their superstition by the reformists.

By these his unpopular acts, and violent proceedings, he drew upon the unhappy king, and upon the episcopal order in general, a violent odium. Hence in 1644, he was brought to the tribunal of the public, declared guilty of high treason, and was condemned to decapitation, which sentence was executed. That he was sacrificed to the vengeance and bigotry of a malignant party, no impartial reader of the history of the period can deny. The error of Laud

seems to have been that of the judgment, and a superficial view of the times in which he lived. which he should have known could not tolerate those innovations which he introduced. The time was past by, when religion had called in the aid of the senses to her interest.

When the doctrines of a mystic creed were enforced through palpable forms, addressed to the affections, powerfully assisting (it must be admitted) to awaken faith through feeling, " for that which is felt it is difficult to doubt, and that which satisfies the senses, is vainly distrusted by the understanding," Laud forgot that the general impulse of the vulgar towards decoration, had for a time at least given place to affected simplicity, abstracted devotion, and enthusiastic visions. It had been the policy of the reformed religion, to carry on her system by a proud and stern rejection of all the meretricious means, by which the old church had effected her scheme of usurpation, and dazzled her votaries. Men usually pass to extremes, and time must elapse before the mutation can be safely meddled with. That period of safety was not reached, when Laud revived a few of the primitive institutions, by presenting to the mind, lost in abstracted and spiritual religion, some exterior observances, which might fix it during its religious exercises, and abate the violence of its ineffectual efforts " to personify the essence which thought could not reach."

After the decease of this venerable prelate, of whom it may be said, that nothing in his life became him better than his death, dissensions increased. The great council of the nation, heated by the inflammatory suggestions of the puritans and independents, abolished episcopacy, and as we have seen, overturned all rights and privileges, concluding their tumultuous drama by becoming

regicides! Such are the calamities flowing from religious zeal, without knowledge, temperance, and liberality; from that bigotry and enthusiasm, which inspires a blind and immoderate attachment to the external unessential parts of religion, and to certain doctrines imperfectly understood!

While Cromwell had the reins of government, sectaries enjoyed much liberty—the episcopalians none; bishops were deprived of their dignities and revenues, and received severe and iniquitous treatment; presbyterians and independents met with peculiar favour, and aimed at a very high ecclesiastical power. "Though transported himself with the most frantic whimsies," says Hume, "Cromwell had adopted a scheme for regulating the religious principle in others, both sagacious and political." Resolved to maintain a national church, yet determined neither to admit episcopacy nor presbytery, he established a number of commissioners, under the name of *tryers*, partly laymen, partly ecclesiastics, some presbyterians, some independents. These presented to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown, they examined and admitted such persons as received holy orders, and inspected the lives, doctrines, and behaviour of the clergy. But instead of supporting that union between theology and learning, which had been so long attempted in Europe, these *tryers* embraced the former principle in its full purity, and made it the sole object of their examination.

If Cromwell might be said to adhere to any particular form of religion, the independents could most boast of his favour, the pastors of that sect, who were not passionately addicted to civil liberty, were universally attached to him. He granted unbounded liberty of conscience to all but Catholics and prelatists, and thus attached

the wild sectaries, and employed them in curbing the domineering spirit of the presbyterians; he was wont to say, "I am the only man who has known how to subdue that insolent sect, which can suffer none but itself." Though he retained the Church of England in constraint, he permitted its clergy a little more liberty than the republican parliament had allowed. There is an anecdote related of him and Archbishop Usher, which is relevant to our subject here. Cromwell, at the intercession of Usher, (for whom he had a high respect,) had promised to permit the ministers of the established church the freedom of their mode of divine worship in private congregations. This promise not being fulfilled, Usher waited upon him to claim it. He found Cromwell under the hands of his surgeon, who was dressing a large bile on his breast. Cromwell said to his visitor, "If this core," pointing to the tumour, "were once out, I should be well;" the archbishop mildly replied, "I doubt the core lies deeper, there is a core that lies at the heart, that must be taken out, or else it will not be well." "Ah," replied Cromwell, while he heaved a deep sigh, "there is indeed!" Usher not succeeding in his application, when he returned home, said to his friends, "This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised; well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long; the king will return—I shall not live to see it, but you may."

It was at this period that the quakers propagated their tenets; they made many proselytes, for the affections of men were directed to diversities of faith, and the most extravagant modes were, of course, the most popular; and the hot-headed anabaptists were also unrestrained, in

promulgating their visionary doctrines. In short, a multiplicity of sects arose, all with shades of difference, which excited continual animosities and controversies without end. Every man, as prompted by constitutional warmth, excited by emulation, or supported by habitual hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher degree of saintship and perfection, at a period when the enthusiastic spirit met with such honour and indulgence, and was the immediate road to worldly distinction and preferment. In proportion to its degree of fanaticism, each sect became dangerous; thus it was with the presbyterians and independents, who apparently had been united, but soon betrayed very distinct views and pretensions. The independents rejected *all* ecclesiastical establishments, admitted no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no magisterial interference in religious affairs, no fixed encouragement to any system of doctrines and opinions. According to their opinions, each congregation contained within itself a separate church, exercising a jurisdiction over its own pastor, and its own members, though destitute of temporal sanctions. Nothing that was deemed requisite in other churches, to confer a right to holy orders, was considered necessary by this sect. The election of the congregation was all-sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character, and no essential distinction between the clergy and the laity was admitted.

The enthusiasm of the presbyterians led them to reject the authority of prelates, and the restraints of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the authority and riches of the priestly office. The fanaticism of the independents exalted a step higher, abolished ecclesiastical government, disdained creeds and systems, neglected all ceremo-

nies, confounded ranks and orders. Individuals of every occupation or station indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the spirit, resigned themselves to an inward and superior direction, and were consecrated in a manner by an immediate intercourse and communication with heaven. "The Catholics," continues the historian, from whose luminous pages we now quote, "pretending to an infallible guide, justified upon that principle their doctrine and practice of persecution." The presbyterians, imagining that such clear and certain tenets as they themselves adopted, could only be rejected from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, gratified to the full their bigoted zeal, by a like doctrine and practice. The independents, from an extreme of the same zeal, were singularly led into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat on the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits, and the same variations in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. Of all Christian sects, this was the first which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the principles of toleration, and it is worthy of observation, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin not to reasoning, (though so obviously rational,) but to the height of fanaticism and extravagance. Popery and prelacy alone, whose genius seemed to tend towards superstition, were treated by the independents with rigour. The doctrines of fate or destiny were deemed by them essential to all religion. The political creed of the independents kept pace with their religious system: they were decided, stern republicans.

Such was the state of ecclesiastical affairs at the period of our retrospect at which we are

arrived, namely, at the time when Cromwell paid the debt of nature, when the form which had been animated by such an intelligent and daring spirit, became as the clod of the valley. That master spirit had kept these discordant interests in some degree of union. It remains for us to trace the events which followed his final removal from a scene in which he made himself to be feared and courted by all foreign princes; in which he equally displayed unconquerable courage, signal military talent, eminent address, profound policy, consummate artifice, and above all, admirable dexterity in discovering the characters of men, and rendering their abilities or their weaknesses subservient to his own designs. In referring to the ecclesiastical affairs of this century, we must not omit the mention of the protestant missions established, and also that illustrious society, which derives its title from the great object of its institution, namely, the "Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." Nor ought we to pass over that munificent friend to the same pious object, that is, the service of Christianity, Mr. Robert Boyle, who, to counteract, if possible, the sceptical spirit of his times, in 1691, consecrated a considerable part of his ample fortune, to the foundation of a course of lectures, to be preached successively by a chosen number of eminent divines. Eight discourses were the number fixed for every year, the subjects, the defence of natural and revealed religion. This pious and honourable task has always been committed to men of the most eminent genius and abilities, is still undertaken with zeal, and performed with remarkable dignity and success. The discourses that have been delivered in consequence of this admirable institution have invariably been published, and form a large and important collection, which is

known throughout Europe. It has done eminent service to the cause of religion and virtue, refuting most ably and clearly the sophisms of the infidel writers, who industriously spread their gloomy and demoralising doctrines, at this period of intellectual impulse.

The progressive and flourishing state of the sciences in this century is abundantly known, as we see the effects, and enjoy the fruits of the efforts then made for the advancement of learning. "Philosophy," says an intelligent modern writer, "availed herself of the license of the times, and of the inquiring spirit of the age; she came forth with her great experimental truths, to better the condition of humanity, to lessen its inflictions, to meet its wants, and to diminish the many ills that flesh is heir to. Her object was the happiness of mankind, and her agent knowledge. Obstructed in every step of her progress, condemned as an infidel for expounding the laws of nature, and persecuted for truths for which she deserved to be deified; still she advanced, slowly indeed, but firmly. Moral and physical evil, error, and disease, bigotry, and the plague, receded before her luminous progress. Philosophers, it is true, perished in the dungeons of the Inquisition, or fed the flames of an *auto da fé*—but philosophy survived."

No branch of literature was neglected, all the sciences that belong to the respective provinces of reason, experience, observation, genius, memory, and imagination, were cultivated and improved with remarkable success throughout the Christian world. Bacon, towards the commencement of this century, opened, by his admirable works, the avenues that lead to the fair temple of true philosophy. The march of science was indeed truly astonishing. The stream of knowledge

had hitherto been confined, the flood-gates were now opened, and it rushed forth with impetuous force, dividing itself into many fertilizing courses in its progress. By these scientific inquiries, the empire of superstition was shaken; by them natural religion was erected upon solid foundations, and illustrated with admirable perspicuity and evidence, as by them the infinite perfections of the supreme being were demonstrated with the utmost clearness and force. The natural philosopher marked creation rising in immensity before him, filled with the energy of the divine presence, and passing upward from the majesty of nature, to the majesty of nature's mighty architect, he finds in the lofty abstraction of his feelings, that there is indeed a spirit in man destined to rise far above human passions and human anxieties. Thus led to contemplate the nature of his own soul, man is drawn insensibly to its worth, its primeval dignity, its sad deviation, and the means of final restoration, hence was true philosophy the handmaid of revealed religion. The improvements made in the study of history, more especially the ancient history of the church, were also of eminent service to the cause of Christianity. The vivid light of truth, and the calm and cheerful repose that attend it, arose upon the minds of many, delivering the great family of mankind from many of those crimes which had been engendered and fostered by superstition, and had been even sanctified by her barbarous ignorance. Innumerable and inestimable were the advantages which resulted from this spread of historical knowledge. By it, many pious and excellent individuals whom ignorance and malice had branded with the ignominious title of Heretics, were delivered from the reproach, carrying with it so many dangers and afflictions, and were secured from the malignity

of superstition. By it also was made manifest, that many of those religious controversies which had divided nations, separated friends, disunited families, and involved sovereign states so often in bloodshed, rebellion, and crimes of the most horrid kind, were frequently owing to the most trifling and contemptible causes, to the ambiguity of certain theological phrases and terms, to superstition, ignorance, and envy, to spiritual pride and ambition. By this study it was demonstrated with the fullest evidence that many of those religious rites and ceremonies, which had been considered as of divine institution, were derived from the most inglorious sources, being borrowed from the customs of barbarous nations, invented with a design to deceive the ignorant and credulous, or dictated by the senseless enthusiasm of overwrought imaginations. But not to multiply instances in proof of the high importance of the study of history, we shall but say, that by her bright lamp the most important discoveries as to the state of the Christian church have been made, the salutary effects of which we enjoy. Hence flow the lenity and moderation that are mutually exercised by those who differ from each other in religious sentiment; that prudence and caution in estimating opinions and deciding controversies; that protection and support granted to men of worth, when attacked by the malice of bigotry, and that visible diminution of errors, frauds, crimes and cruelties with which superstition formerly embittered human life, and every enjoyment of social intercourse.

The writers of this age distinguished themselves by the study of eloquence, and the languages. The divine rules of morality and practice laid down in the Holy Scriptures, received new illustrations, when that great scheme of law

which results from the system of nature, and the dictates of right reason began to be studied with more diligence, and investigated with more accuracy than had hitherto been the case, while the impiety of those infidel writers who had the moral hardihood and effrontery to maintain that the precepts of the gospel are contrary to the dictates of sound reason, repugnant to the constitution of man's nature, inconsistent with the interests of civil society, adapted to enervate and narrow the mind, and to draw it off from the business, the duties and the enjoyments of life, was ably and perfectly refuted by many eminent writers of the seventeenth century, as we shall abundantly have power to prove when we resume our retrospect nearer to our own times. Those evidences of genius and talent, which painting and sculpture display, alone were deprived of encouragement at this period. The perfection they had attained during the middle ages, was derived from the peculiar genius of the times, when to support and to embellish a powerful hierarchy, the aid of the arts and the products of human genius were brought forward. The splendours of architecture, and the fascinations of painting were early adopted by a church departing rapidly from primitive simplicity and that single reliance on a vicarious sacrifice which formed the basis of the Christian faith. The effect of both upon the imagination through the medium of the senses was powerful. To witness the obscured glory of the lofty painted windows of a cathedral, the awful bend of its arched roof, the loftiness of its noble pillars, the capacity of its niches, and as it were, their interminable length, the high raised altar, and the solemn grandeur which pervaded the whole, struck an awe into the human heart, which prepared it for all the affecting forms of Romish worship. But if the vene-

rable forms of architecture thus excited solemn and devotional feelings, the magic of painting was infinitely superior. It rendered as it were that tangible which could not be expressed, and found its way to the mind and heart with the vividness and the rapidity of lightning. It depicted "says an expressive writer, "the mystery which reason could not explain, it revealed the beatitudes of heaven, and the torments of hell, in imagery which struck upon the dullest apprehensions, and intimidated the hardiest consciences. Eyes which shed no tears over the recited sufferings of a Saviour, wept gratefully over the pictured agonies of a self-sacrificed mediator, and knees unused to bend in mental devotion, dropped involuntarily before shrines exhibiting maternal love and blooming innocence, a virgin parent, and an infant God! These awakened religious adoration through the captivating medium of human sympathies." But with the decline of the Romish power also declined these great actuating engines of human feeling. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, new opinions, new interests arose, and the age of painting passed away with the rise of the reformation; religion then became an inquiring spirit, not affecting to be roused by external influences, and as the human mind is continually hurrying from one extreme to another, the reformers rejected all pictures, and with a sadly Vandal spirit, despoiled the riches of architecture. We have already stated how far this barbarous spirit was carried in the destruction of every thing which embellished the Romish sanctuaries. One instance only of the same superstitious Vandalism we shall give, occurring at the period at which our retrospect is arrived.

Among the votes passed in the English parliament of 1636 it was ordered that all such pictures

there (in the royal collection) as shall have the representation of the second person in the Trinity on them, shall be forthwith burnt, and all such pictures as have representation of the Virgin Mary upon them shall be forthwith burnt. The pictures without any superstition upon them were to be sold for the benefit of *the poor Irish*. In England, before the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, and a refinement of taste pervaded the higher classes, quickly finding its way to the inferior. Charles the first, loved painting, was a judge of the arts, and even in a degree an artist himself. His literary taste was also correct, and music he delighted in. Cromwell himself, though individually rough and unpolished, was not insensible to literary merit in others. Archbishop Usher, notwithstanding his sacerdotal dignity, and his frankness of character, yet received a pension from the protector as an evidence of his respect for his learning. This was not the only instance of his patronage of individuals. He even projected the erection of a college at Durham, for the benefit of the northern counties. Generally speaking, civil wars when founded on the principles of liberty, are found rather favourable to the arts of eloquence and oratory, as by presenting noble and interesting objects to the mind they exalt and invigorate its powers. The various tempers and passions of mankind are then unfolded, and their various operations, both supply subject for the orator, and elicit his own latent faculties, and he is taught by his own ardent and overpowering enthusiasm, the art of convincing the judgment, and influencing the passions of others. But though imagination may thus impart vivacity to judgment, and receives from it both solidity and justness. taste must give elegance to both to render them attractive. Thus,

although the parliamentary orators of the commonwealth, and the period immediately antecedent, were, in regard to force and judgment, greatly superior to those of former times in England, yet the wretched fanaticism which overclouded the parliamentary party, was destructive of all taste and science, and therefore the eloquence though vigorous, was destitute of elegance or harmony. It is, therefore, to the restoration we must undoubtedly look for the period when our language assumed the facility and the clearness, the fluency and grace hitherto unknown in its structure.

CHAPTER XXII.

Cromwell's death makes no immediate change in Irish affairs. —Richard Cromwell recognized as his successor—Henry confirmed in the government—He resigns his command on the dismission of his brother—Government administered by commissioners—Ludlow in command of the forces—The royalists are sanguine—Levity of the commissioners—Lord Broghill engages in the royal cause—Sir Charles Coote attends to the overtures of Lord Broghill—Ludlow recalled to London—Operations of the royalists—Council of officers formed—Charles II. proclaimed—His restoration produces important consequences to Ireland—Premature proceedings—Court of claims erected—Jarring interests—Parliament deemed necessary to settle them—Disorders in the ecclesiastical system —Poverty of benefices—Ormond's advice to the king—It is acted upon—The opposers—Settlement of lands perplexing and arduous—Ormond created lord lieutenant—Parliament assembled—Prelates consecrated—Puritans dissatisfied—Act of settlement—Discontents—Schemes of insurrection formed —Ormond's ability—Secret preparations of the disaffected—Leniency necessary—Bill of settlement discussed—Parliament convened—Act of settlement passed—Difficulties of execution—Public mind disturbed by a violent act of the English parliament—Great distress in consequence—Vigilant conduct of Ormond—Manufactory of woollen cloths established —Encouragement of the linen trade—Great activity of Ormond to improve Ireland—Bishop of Down—Ormond's enemies prevail—He is removed from the government—Lord Berkeley nominated—Ireland the chosen scene for rehearsing the political drama to be acted in England—Anti-remonstrants—Irish council convened—Intrigues of party—Talbot —His indiscreet measures—Restless intrigues of the discontented—Ormond's perplexity—Petitions from the protestants —Berkeley succeeded by Lord Essex—Address to the king on the affairs of Ireland—Difficulties attending the administration of Essex—Ormond's high qualities—Behaviour of the king—Ormond appointed to his former government—Popish

Plot—Intrigues of Ormond's enemies—Defeated by his prudence and integrity—He returns to England—Earl of Arran made deputy—Ormond restored—Designs of the Duke of York—Measures taken—Ormond removed—Lord Rochester appointed to succeed—Richard Talbot licutenant general —Death of Charles—Ormond's recall—Revolution in the prospects of the Irish.

We paused in our detail of Irish occurrences, at the eventful period of Cromwell's decease, [1658.] That event made no immediate changes in the state of Irish affairs. The same assurances which had been made to support the protector's power, were renewed by the Irish to his son Richard, when the country recognised him as the successor of his father in his high dignity. Richard confirmed Henry in the government of Ireland, under the title of lord lieutenant. When, however, the cabals in the army, and the faction which they formed for the support of the *good old cause*, resulted in the dismission of the peaceable and unambitious Richard. The popularity of Henry in Ireland, might have created a revolution in opinion; but having, as he considered it his duty, exerted himself to preserve the tottering power of his brother, and on the restoration of the rump parliament, laboured to prevent the disorders of this sudden revolution, he resigned his command, and retired to England. The parliament resolved that the government of Ireland should be again administered by commissioners, and that Ludlow should be appointed to command the forces of the commonwealth in that kingdom. From the moment of the abdication of Richard Cromwell, the royalists of Ireland naturally entertained the most sanguine hopes of the king's restoration. Many, both of the old English race, and the original Irish, were attached to his inte-

rests. It has been asserted, that Henry Cromwell contemplated to declare for the king, but on the arrival of the commissioners declined it. The severity and jealousy of these commissioners considerably promoted this disposition in favour of the king. Many officers whom they suspected of attachment to his cause were cashiered without trial, or any crime alleged, to diminish the merit of their long and painful services. Lord Broghill, in particular, was both by birth and interest determined on the side of monarchy. The nobility, the gentry, bent their passionate endeavours to effect the restoration, and the dissolution of that tyranny, which, whether considered in a civil or military view, appeared equally oppressive and ruinous to the nation.

Lord Broghill, disgusted at the sudden revolutions of power, the anarchy and confusion of England, and anticipating that they were preparing the popular mind for the restoration, was desirous of engaging in the enterprise; but of a cautious, dark, and deliberate character, he concealed his wishes, while, at the same time, he insidiously engaged his officers, friends, and dependents in his design.

Sir Charles Coote and his father had engaged in the parliamentarian service, like many others, from interest, not principle, and had already betrayed a disaffection to the rump parliament, and to the army. The ruin of this party seemed to be approaching, and these wily politicians thought it would be prudent to retire in time, and recommend themselves to the ascending power. Sir Charles instantly embraced the overtures of Lord Broghill, but as is usual with young converts, or those who suddenly change with circumstances, his ardour was so unrestrained and violent, that

the cautious measures of Lord Broghill were in danger of being prematurely developed.

When the rump parliament, so odious to the nation, was dissolved, Ludlow was recalled to London, and a Colonel Jones, one of the judges of the unfortunate Charles, was appointed to command the forces, nor could these republicans conceal their exultation in having, as they believed, reconciled the army to the new government.

Peace and composure seemed established in Ireland, when the royal party suddenly burst from their concealment, and threatened destruction to the republican administration. Several noblemen of weight and influence had adopted the sentiments of Broghill. They made themselves masters of the castle, seized Jones and others, and declared for a free parliament, and finally impeached Ludlow and the commissioners of high treason. In the space of one week most of the garrisons declared for a free parliament, so sudden was the apparent revolution of opinion. But the popular mind had long been in preparation, for a universal fear prevailed of that perpetual servitude so severely felt beneath those sanctified robbers, whose union or whose divisions were equally destructive to the national well-being, and whose fanaticism was as fatal to private morality, as it was inimical to all law and justice.

So favourable was the progress of the royal cause in Ireland, that Charles was earnestly requested to repair thither; but the prudent, cautious, and judicious loyalty of Monk had now so effectually prepared every thing for his glad reception in England, it was judged best to decline going to Ireland, until the result of the English measures should be known. In the meantime a council of officers assumed the government of Ire-

land, and summoned a convention of the estates, independent of England; they declared their detestation of the king's murder, provided for the payment of army arrears, and their future maintenance, and published their declaration for a free parliament. After some opposition from the republicans, which was overcome, the convention and council of officers proceeded to avow their design of restoring the king. One only point remained in dispute, whether they should stipulate for a confirmation of estates to the adventurers and soldiers, or whether they should restore him without previous conditions. At length it was agreed to submit all their interests implicitly to the king. In this debate, the ardour, the sanguine hopes, and daring decision of Sir Charles Coote, was directly opposed to the reserve, the caution, and the frigidity of Lord Broghill, and such was the effect of this discrepancy of sentiment, that it might have proved mischievous, had there been any immediate necessity for action. The only persons who declared against the king, (so entirely had the nation caught the flame of loyalty,) were a few inconsiderable fanatics, and some of the old Irish, with their popish primate. When the declaration of Breda was promulged, it was readily accepted, and Charles was proclaimed in Ireland with every due demonstration of joy. 1660.

The restoration of Charles II. produced important consequences to Ireland, and forcibly demonstrated the fact, that although it be unquestionably the interest of all good government to prevent injustice, it is far from being always possible to remedy it, after it has had a long course, or been attended by great advantages to the agents. But as the events and circumstances which illustrate our position have little to do with

our peculiar subject, we shall give only a very brief and cursory view of them, to preserve connexion; referring our readers to other historians, for a detail purely political.

During a period of nine years, Ireland had been rent by civil wars, and all the direful concomitants of violent and embittered factions, and variations of power and property, according to the fluctuating ascendancy the contending parties enjoyed. Hence at a period when a just authority, peace, and tranquillity were expected, by the restoration of the rightful monarch, the minds of men were naturally drawn to the extremest tension of anxiety respecting those objects interesting to them as men and social beings. The old inhabitants, new adventurers, Catholics, puritans, protestants of every denomination, and every party of Romanists, regarded each other with a degree of jealousy, and even incipient envy, suspicion, and aversion, according as they fancied others to be more likely to derive benefit from the change than themselves. All were impatient to be restored to their possessions, confirmed in their acquisitions, pardoned if they had erred in the conflicts of party, or rewarded for their adherence to that which now ruled the ascendant. But of all these, the Irish Catholics were the most impatient: these had, in 1648, concluded a treaty with Ormond, in which they had stipulated a pardon of past rebellion, and, under certain conditions, engaged to assist the royal cause; and although, as we have seen, the violence of the priests, and the bigotry they encouraged in the people, had in a great measure rendered this treaty nugatory, yet there were many who, even at the hazard of their lives, adhered to it; and on that account, justly deemed themselves entitled to reap the fruits of their loyalty. Cromwell having, without

distinction, expelled all the native Irish from the three provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, and confined them to Connaught and Clare, many of these, also, were of unquestionable innocence, and, of course, expected that they should be regarded in that light by those, to whose cause they had been faithful, and by which they had been sufferers. Several protestants, also, and even Ormond among them, had invariably opposed the rebellion, yet from having embraced the king's cause against the parliament were all attainted by Cromwell. There were also many officers who from the commencement of the insurrection had served in Ireland, and who because they would not desert the king, had been refused all their arrears by the English Commonwealth. All these sufferers had a strong claim to justice, but how it was to be awarded was the difficulty, without creating commotion and dissatisfaction, and in many instances doing injury to the royal cause.

The Catholics of Connaught exulting in the overthrow of the fanatical power, waited not even for the king being proclaimed, but re-entered their patrimonial lands, expelling the occupiers whom they considered as intruders. Riot and disturbance were the natural consequences of this premature proceeding, and the convention were under the necessity of publishing an ordinance for preserving the peace. To the new settlers these outrages gave much satisfaction as furnishing them with a plea to report the rebellious state of the kingdom, and so successful were they in reporting their unfavourable and aggravated accounts, that the royal act of indemnity was so prepared as to exclude all those who had any hand in plotting and contriving, aiding or abetting the rebellion in Ireland. By which clause the whole Romish party were in effect excluded from its benefits. In the mean-

time the severest ordinances were strictly executed against the Irish Romanists. They were not allowed to pass from one province to another, on their ordinary business, many of them were imprisoned, their letters intercepted, their gentry forbidden to meet, and thus deprived of the opportunity of choosing agents or representing their grievances.

A court of claims was at length erected, consisting altogether of English commissioners who had no connection with any of the parties into which Ireland was divided. Before them were laid four thousand claims of persons craving restitution on account of their innocence. The commissioners had only examined six hundred when it clearly appeared that if all these were to be restored, the funds whence the soldiers and adventurers were to get reprisals would fall short of giving them any tolerable satisfaction. Anxiety and alarm seized all parties. The hopes and fears of all were excited. Some eagerly grasped at recovering their paternal inheritance, some resolute in maintaining their new acquisitions.

An Irish parliament was deemed absolutely necessary to decide upon the jarring interests. The king was urged to call one without delay, he answered that it should be called in due time. Several arrangements were previously to be made in the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of Ireland, both being in a greatly embarrassed and disordered state. The convention had requested that all impropriate and forfeited tithes and glebes in the king's disposal might be granted to the clergy, and that all escheated lands now exempted from the payment of ecclesiastical dues might hereafter be made liable to the same. Charles, with his usual careless facility, readily condescended to this request, but who the ministers should be who were

to receive these endowments was not so easily settled. Independent of the Scottish preachers in the northern counties, some divines of the presbyterian opinions had recently gained possession of churches in Dublin and the adjacent country, governed themselves by the directory, and preached the covenant zealously. The ecclesiastical benefices of Ireland were indeed at this period too poor to tempt any number of these zealous missionaries from England. But eminently distinguished for moral courage, assiduity, and interest, they had boldly on the king's landing petitioned to have their model of church government established. A petition of the same nature was promoted in the army in Ireland. The divines of the episcopacy were naturally alarmed, and warmly remonstrated against the proceedings. They lost no time in applying for counsel and assistance to the Marquis of Ormond, who proved their powerful and zealous advocate. He represented frankly to the king, that episcopacy and the liturgy were as yet a part of the legal establishment of Ireland, and proposed that instead of trusting to the sense of a new parliament, necessarily in a great measure composed of the adventurers and officers of Cromwell's army, that Charles should immediately fill up the ecclesiastical preferments of the country with men of worth, learning and zeal, of the established church. This advice was entirely approved, and the king immediately filled the four archbishoprics and twelve episcopal sees, with the most eminent of the clergy of Ireland. The consecration of the nominated prelates was however necessarily delayed for a considerable time, in consequence of a new great seal not being prepared to validate the patents. This unavoidable delay created great satisfaction to the opposers of the measures, as they imputed it to the secret reluct-

ance of the king. In every quarter of the kingdom their agents were busily employed, and a petition prepared in which they prayed that his majesty would be graciously pleased to give an order that their godly ministers of the gospel might be continued and protected. All orders and conditions of men were solicited to subscribe this document. The officers of the army had drawn it up, and indeed were its chief promoters. In the ardour of their zeal they had incautiously betrayed their secret aversion to monarchy, as in the petition were inserted many expressions reflecting on the existing government.

But however the passions and prejudices of men were at this time engaged by modes of church government, and religious worship, the temporal interests respecting the lands and possessions of Ireland occupied far more the thoughts and the efforts of the inhabitants. Some settlement was imperiously demanded both by justice and policy, but the variety of pretensions, as well as the unreasonable expectations of the parties and individuals, rendered this an arduous and perplexing task. So various were the claimants, and so clashing the interests, that it seemed next to impossible that they should be satisfied and reconciled. The Duke of Ormond was created Lord Lieutenant as being the only person whose long experienced equity, ability, prudence and intelligence, could give hope of reconciling those jarring interests. A parliament was assembled at Dublin, but as the lower house was almost entirely chosen by the soldiers and adventurers who still kept possession of their lands, it was extremely favourable to that interest. In the house of peers a greater impartiality was shewn. In the meantime, the consecration of the prelates took place, with all due solemnity. This appeared a solemn revival

of the ecclesiastical establishment, and as it was performed with much sacerdotal pomp, it seemed like a triumph over the puritanic party who had hoped for the extinction of prelacy, and who, having laboured assiduously to effect some diminution at least of the ecclesiastical revenues, regarded the circumstance with much dissatisfaction. However the king and his ministers might be actuated by a spirit of justice and equity in regard to the settlement of Irish claims, it was impossible to meet the expectations of all parties. The act of settlement could not be so accurately devised as to guard even against every reasonable objection and exception, a clause was therefore inserted in it, empowering the lord lieutenant and council to modify its enactions according to pressing circumstances. To the soldiers and adventurers a degree of partiality was shewn, nor was it without considerable repining that the loyal officers who had served before the year 1649, or as they were then styled *forty-nine men*, beheld what they deemed an unseasonable indulgence to fanatics and republicans. Several grants were made to the prejudice of their security, and one in particular, which provided that the debts due for furnishing the army should be paid out of this security. So great were the discontents originating in these claims, that the more violent declared for maintaining their possessions by the sword. Such a spirit was quickly caught by the combustible materials of Irish population, and readily spread. The desperate parties in England sent agents to try the dispositions of their numerous partizans in Ireland, now irritated at the apprehension of losing their estates, and found them ready for any factious purpose. A number of Cromwell's officers were easily encouraged to form a scheme of general insurrection, and a committee

was actually formed in order to conduct it, one of which discovered the conspiracy to Ormond. Some of them had devised a separate scheme to seize the castle of Dublin, but this was also defeated.

Subsequent to this the commons addressed the lord lieutenant declaring their abhorrence of the fanatic plot, and representing the danger of the kingdom arising from recusants, and the vast confluence of popish priests, friars, and jesuits; strongly recommending bills for enforcing the oaths of supremacy, and banishing all popish ecclesiastics from the kingdom. Thus things appeared to be reverting to their former anarchy, but the vigilance and prudence of Ormond enabled him to steer his course through the turbulent fluctuations of parties. His discovery of the plot had put an end to any more general insurrection, but meetings were still held, correspondences maintained throughout the kingdom, arms and ammunition prepared, and numbers of the disbanded soldiers engaged ready for any desperate enterprize. Many lawyers, some presbyterian ministers, Blood, who was afterwards so distinguished in English history, some members of the Irish commons, and several republican officers embarked in this design. Declarations were even printed in readiness for dispersion, entreating and encouraging all good protestants to unite in securing the English interest, by averting the dangers threatened to the three kingdoms by the countenance given to popery, confirming the English subjects of Ireland in the estates they had purchased by their services, and for establishing religion agreeably to the solemn league and covenant. Either the discretion of these conspirators was not equal to their zeal, or the vigilance of Ormond was unslumbering, so that intimations of their purpose and proceedings became known to him. The utmost circumspection was necessary

on his part, for although the populace were generally well disposed to the present government, the army was far from being so. A weak government rendered it necessary to proceed with lenity against delinquents engaged in a popular cause, therefore of about five and twenty conspirators who were seized, a few only were condemned, the rest received the royal pardon.

The state of property was still unsettled; the king referred the whole affair to Ormond and his council, directing that they should frame a new bill if possible more congenial to all parties. They proceeded cautiously in an affair so difficult, wherein they were to consider not only what was demanded on the principles of strict justice, but what also might be practicable and attainable in the present circumstances of the kingdom. To provide for what individuals might expect, was under those existing circumstances impossible, but they must study the general welfare, and render the benefits as equitably and as extensively as possible. The purport of their bill was to explain some objectionable clauses in the declaration, to assign better security to the forty-nine officers, and other enactments equally just. It soon however became obvious that no settlement ever could be effected, unless the several claimants would relax in their pretensions. Almost ten months were employed in hearing and answering petitions, examining claims, and considering provisos to be inserted in the new bill. All parties at length, wearied with their unsettled condition, and harassed with the expenses and anxieties of examination, and the difficulties of proof, seemed willing to abate somewhat of their pretensions, in order to obtain some result. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a third of their possessions, and as they had purchased their lands at

very low prices, they were certainly not injured by their composition. All those who had been attainted on account of their adherence to the king were restored, also some of the innocent Irish.

It was, however, a cruel and hard situation for a man to be obliged to prove himself innocent, in order to recover possession of the estate which he and his ancestors had ever enjoyed. This hardship was augmented by the difficulty of the conditions annexed to this proof. For instance, if the individual had ever lived in the quarters of the rebels he was not admitted to plead his innocence, as he was for that reason alone supposed to be a rebel. The injustice of this exception was pleaded by the sufferers, as very many, perfectly well affected to the crown, and altogether averse to the rebellion, had lived peaceably in their own habitations, lying within the quarters of the rebels, who, out of reverence to their character, favour of their religion, or other local attachments, had suffered them to remain unmolested, though they declined assisting or concurring in hostilities. They pleaded, that they were not allowed to seek refuge in the capital, and inveighed against the cruelty of depriving men of their just property, for having resided in the only places where they were permitted by government, and in a time of war and commotion for accepting mercy from those they had no power to resist. These pleas were done away, by many equally plausible reasons, which concluded by the declaration, that a strict adherence to the clause was of absolute necessity, to prevent multitudes of dangerous and disaffected papists from recovering their power, embarrassing the king's government, and in all probability renewing the commotions which had convulsed the realm, with all its train

of tremendous consequences. These arguments acquired the greater force, from the inveterate aversion and prejudices of the new race of English settlers against the Catholics. Deeply imbued with a puritanic spirit, they regarded with an abhorrence they sought not to conceal, what they termed their idolatrous and antichristian worship. They urged, as a matter of duty, and as necessary to the public peace, to crush these enemies of God and man, justifying their zeal by exaggerated accounts of their murders, massacres, and barbarities. They contended for what they termed an English interest in Ireland, while both their principles, and their mercenary and ambitious passions served to extend their aversion to all the ancient inhabitants, even of the protestant faith. For this aversion, they pleaded in excuse, that the objects of it, however free from the pollutions of popery, were not sufficiently opposed to prelacy. However constantly and bravely they might have fought against popish insurgents, yet they had done equally so against republicans. In fact it was evident that these *discontents* sought to erect their own power and prosperity upon the ruin of others.

The meeting of the parliament was anxiously desired. It was convened; and though difficulties rose upon every side, Ormond conducted the whole affair disinterestedly, honourably, and conciliating. In the debates of the commons, their doubts and objections were freely proposed and considered, collected and submitted to the lord lieutenant, in the form of a petition. On his part, he exhorted them not to dwell too scrupulously on niceties, at a time when their enemies were on the alert to take advantage of every disunion. He encouraged them to hope for satisfactory results from the power vested in himself and

council, to explain difficulties, and to amend or supply any defects in the act. His answer was voted satisfactory; and without one dissenting voice, they passed the act which fixed the general rights of the several interests of Ireland.

But this was but the beginning of the great and important work of settlement; the difficult part was yet to come in the execution of the act, and the application of the rule to particular cases. For this purpose five commissioners were appointed, who, in the occurrence of difficult cases, were to resort to the lord lieutenant and council. An infinite number of perplexed cases, produced perpetual applications to the state, and for a series of years gave continual employment to the intelligence and prudence of the Duke of Ormond, in providing for the impartial execution of the act, defeating the restless attempts of those who laboured to evade it, and other unwarrantable intrigues.

The state had scarcely begun to attain some composure, when the public mind was greatly disturbed by a violent act, passed by the English parliament, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Ormond, the expressed opposition of the king, with a spirit of jealousy and tyranny with which the English state seemed to regard that of Ireland, this law, so injurious to the interests of the latter, was passed. It brought, as might well be anticipated, great distress for some time upon the Irish, but ultimately, perhaps, proved beneficial, as it induced them to apply themselves more steadily to manufactures.

During the distresses and discontents of the Irish, on this deprivation of a lucrative trade, the conduct of Ormond was wary, vigilant, and diligent. He well knew there was a faction ever on

the alert, to avail themselves of popular discontent. He watched the proceedings of the popish party, and the futile attempts of the most turbulent of their clergy, to engage the French in a descent upon Ireland. He also assiduously endeavoured to discover the correspondence of the fanatics with those of England and Scotland. He had his agents in all quarters, from whom he every day received information, upon which he acted with prudence, caution, and magnanimity, at once providing measures for security, and avoiding all provocation of the discontented. While engaged in these indefatigable cares to ensure the political quiet of the nation, Ormond was no less attentive to the grand duty of a legislator, that of encouraging, by his noble spirit, the industry of the people subjected to his delegated power. That comprehensive and noble spirit led him to encourage individuals of knowledge and ability in commerce, to suggest schemes for the promotion of industry. A manufactory of woollen cloths was established at Clonmell. (In this place Cromwell had destroyed the castle and fortifications.) The duke procured five hundred Walloon protestant families to remove from Canterbury to this place, to carry on the works. Another manufactory nearly similar was also established at Carrick. His exertions in favour of the linen trade were yet more important and extensive. Thus did Ormond incessantly labour to promote the prosperity and happiness of the nation.

It is upon such cares, upon such exercise of the mind's energies, that we dwell with pleasure, as they occur to us in the records of history, as conferring upon the agents more real and intrinsic greatness, than actions less peaceable, but more splendid and imposing. Ormond also, with that activity and intelligence which so admirably fitted

him for his high and most difficult station, was eminently active to cultivate and encourage knowledge and learning in Ireland, as he was well aware, that by that alone it was possible to expel the superstition which had so long enslaved the people, so that civility and refinement should take the place of the rudeness which weighed down Ireland from rising into national consequence. On his return to Ireland, after the restoration of Charles, he found the university in the utmost disorder, the natural result of the fearful national troubles and confusions that had occurred.

The Bishop of Down, Dr. Jeremiah Taylor, was entrusted by the duke with the regulation of this important seminary, as he justly deemed it an imperative duty of his high station to inspect the discipline, encourage the studies, and promote the interests of the members of this learned institution, and he made choice of an able instrument to effect his intentions.

This eminent divine was the son of a hairdresser at Cambridge. At the age of thirteen, he was admitted of Caius College, where he continued, until he had taken a master of arts' degree. He subsequently took orders, supplying for a time the divinity lecturer's place in St. Paul's Cathedral, where his distinguished merit introduced him to Laud, who determined to give him better opportunities of study and improvement, for which purpose he caused him to be elected fellow of All Souls, Oxford. After this period he became one of the archbishop's chaplains, then chaplain in ordinary to the king, and in his army. During these several periods, he laid the foundation of several of his works. Upon the decline of the king's cause, he retired into Wales, under the protection of the Earl of Carberry; here he officiated as a minister, and employed his great

talents in the instruction of children, for the maintenance of himself and family. In this retirement he also wrote and published many works. Thus were several years passed in the discharge of the most useful duties, and literary labour. Domestic calamities, and the bereavement of three sons in the short space of so many months, however, rendered the scene too painful; and he accordingly quitted it for the more busy one of the metropolis, where he, at great hazard, officiated in a private congregation of loyalists.

From this exercise of his clerical function he was removed by Lord Conway, whom he attended to Ireland. On the restoration he returned to England, and soon after being nominated to the bishopric of Down and Connor, he was consecrated to that see in January 1661-2; and June following, the see of Dromore was granted to him. On being made bishop, he was appointed privy councillor, and was also made vice-chancellor of the university.

He died in consequence of a fever, at Lisnegarvy, August 1667, and was interred in a chapel of his own erecting, on the ruins of the old cathedral of Dromore.

Dr. Rust, his intimate friend and successor in the see of Dromore, has given us his moral portraiture, which, making every allowance for the partiality of friendship, seems as perfectly faithful as it is pleasing, as it is universally admitted, that Dr. Taylor possessed the acutest penetration and sagacity, a rich and lively imagination, a solid judgment, and profound learning, was perfectly versed in Greek and Latin literature, and well acquainted with the writers of later ages, whether French or Italian. "His knowledge was great, both in civil and canon law, in casuistical divinity, in the fathers, and in ecclesiastical writers,

ancient and modern. With all this intellectual strength, were united those qualities which adorned and directed it—the deepest humility, the most fervent piety. It is believed," says his friendly biographer, "that he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven, in his intercourse with his Creator, in solemn prayer." The same delineator adds, "he had the good-humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a chancellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint. He had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for an university, and had his endowments been parcelled out among his clergy that he left behind him, it would, perhaps, have made one of the best dioceses in the world." His writings were very numerous, and we believe all on religious subjects. They greatly tended to improve the style, as well as the morals of the nation... The richness of his imagination is displayed by the felicity of his expressions. His compositions have been often printed, and much read, but have too much passed into that neglect, which awaits the highest efforts of human virtue and genius.

But as the highest merit, and the purest integrity too generally expose the individual to the sharpest arrows of calumny, and the insidious attacks of envy, the enemies of Ormond sought to lessen his consequence, and counteract his intentions, by endeavouring to persuade the king to appoint some Englishmen to Irish bishoprics, without the concurrence and recommendation of the duke. The sentiments expressed by him upon this occurrence, are worthy of record, as indicating his care of Irish interests, and their moral and intellectual improvement. "It is fit

to be remembered," he observes, "that near this city (Dublin) there is an university, of the foundation of Queen Elizabeth, principally intended for the education and advantage of the natives of this kingdom, which hath produced men very eminent for learning and piety, and those of this nation. And such there are now in this church; so that while there are so, the passing them by is not only in some measure a violation of the original intention and institution, but a great discouragement to the natives, from making themselves capable and fit for preferments in the church, whereunto, (if they have equal parts,) they are better able to do service than strangers, their knowledge of the country, and their relations in it, giving them the advantage. The promotion too of fitting persons already dignified or beneficed, will make room for, and consequently encourage young men, students in this university; which room will be lost, and the inferior clergy much disheartened, if upon the vacancy of bishoprics, persons unknown to the kingdom and university shall be sent to fill them, and to be less useful there to the church and kingdom, than those who are better acquainted with both."

While the duke was thus employing his delegated power in Ireland to the noblest purposes, his enemies in England were intriguing to deprive him of his appointment. The same reasons which had rendered his friend, Lord Clarendon, the victim of party spirit, urged that restless party to intrigue against the virtuous Ormond. By the most unwarrantable means they collected grounds for an impeachment, as they well knew that the popularity and esteem which the duke enjoyed, would defeat every other means of his removal from power. The king expressed indignation at

these attempts against the duke, and even if he felt no gratitude for his services, he was not quite divested of consideration for a servant so distinguished in his attachment. But the intrigues of the cabal were too insidious and too mighty for the weak sense of gratitude and affection felt by Charles for any one, and Ormond's enemies finally prevailed. He was removed from a station he had filled with so much honour, a short period, during which the government was committed to Lord Robarts, who was equally despised in Ireland, and useless to his faction in England.

John Lord Berkeley of Stratton was nominated his successor 1670. The administration of this nobleman opened, as might be expected, from the party which favoured him, a new and alarming scene in Ireland. Nominated to his high station by the influence of the popish party, who knew that while Ormond continued governor they must not expect indulgence, or gain credit with the king, Lord Berkeley was deemed altogether suited to their views; he was devoted to the interest of the artful Buckingham, and a person equally devoted to the wily courtier accompanied Lord Berkeley to his government, as his secretary. This Sir Ellis Leighton was to be a spy upon the conduct of Berkeley, and to keep him firm to the purposes of the English government. In fact, each was to serve as a check upon the other. The design of erecting arbitrary power upon the basis of popery was already formed, and though deeply concealed, and cautiously developed in England, they fatally concurred with the inclinations and prejudices of the king, his desire of authority, his propensity to Catholicism, and his want of money. The deep counsels of this faction, though apprehended, and productive of much

anxiety to true patriots, were so artfully carried on, that they were not thoroughly known but by the event.

Thus it was in England; but the dependent state of Ireland appears ever to have been the theatre chosen to rehearse any scene of the political drama, which might possibly create too great sensation in the development in England. Hence it was deemed neither indiscreet nor dangerous to make the first experiment in Ireland, the authors of it being entirely forgetful of, or different to the principles and passions of the English inhabitants. Some of the most powerful partisans of the popish interests followed Lord Berkeley into Ireland. The bias of the new governor and his adherents was soon manifest, by various circumstances, more particularly by the countenance which, contrary to his public instructions, he showed to those called *anti-remonstrants*, of whom it is necessary to give a cursory account.

The measure of obedience due by papists to the civil power, was a question continually agitated even from the days of Elizabeth. Necessarily involved in this enquiry was the nature as well as the extent of the papal power, and on both these momentous points, the casuists of their communion were by no means agreed. Several professed civil obedience to the queen, and hence in her wars individuals of the Catholic religion were distinguished for their services to the crown. To James the most unreserved submission was given to his supreme temporal authority. In the disorders of the following reign, the question was revived, and we have seen the presumption and the inveteracy it occasioned in Rinuccini, and his bigoted adherents. On the restoration of Charles, some of the Irish prelates and clergy, mortified at the expulsion of their party from their

ancient inheritances, and dreading further severities, commissioned a Franciscan friar to present an address to the king, congratulating him on his accession to the throne of his ancestors, and imploring the benefits of the peace made with Ormond in 1648. The friar well knew that peace had been violated by numbers of his brethren, and therefore deemed it necessary to obviate the objection against tolerating the Romish religion, from its inconsistency with the security of a protestant government. For this purpose he drew up what he called the *Remonstrance* of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland. In this document they acknowledged the king to be supreme and rightful sovereign of the realm of Ireland, that they were bound to obey him in all civil and temporal affairs, notwithstanding any power and pretension of the pope or see of Rome. They openly disclaimed "all foreign power, papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free them from this obligation, or permit them to offer any violence to his majesty's person or government." They enlarged upon these principles in the document which, thus framed so as to satisfy the most scrupulous, was presented to the Duke of Ormond. He objected that it was not signed by the clergy, but offered solely on the authority of Walsh, their procurator. One Irish bishop, and about twenty-three of their clergy immediately subscribed it; some few declined doing so. Circular letters were then addressed to the Irish prelates, in their several dioceses, inviting them to concur in an address, which was soon subscribed by an additional number of clergy, and also by a respectable collection of lay lords and gentlemen.

It will readily be supposed that a declaration against the temporal authority of the pope was by

no means agreeable or acceptable to the court of Rome. The holy father however did not think it prudent to interpose his direct authority, but the internuncio of Brussels, upon whom the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland devolved, and also Cardinal Barberini, were both employed to censure the remonstrance in the name of the pope, as containing propositions already condemned by the apostolic see; the former declared with violence that it would do more injury to the church than any persecution hitherto suffered from heretics. In consequence a powerful party was soon formed against the remonstrance, by those who would not openly acknowledge the authority or influence of these censures. Some, particularly the *Jesuits, with the true spirit of* their order, proposed a *new form of address,* which was fraught with equivocation, evasion, and art. Many were the altercations and opinions which divided the actors in these remonstrances or declarations. These were not altogether disagreeable to the state, as it was considered that they would probably engross the attention of the Romish clergy, and prevent their restless spirits from engaging in any practices inimical to the quiet of government. Some of them had expressed a desire that the remonstrance should be debated in a national synod. At this period the king was engaged in a war with France and Holland, and a descent on Ireland was expected. It was therefore thought by Ormond at such a juncture (who knew the discontented Irish were intriguing with France), that it might prevent any secret conspiracies if the Irish council were permitted to convene, expressly for the purpose of declaring their fidelity to the king. The duke therefore allowed them to assemble; the agents of Rome used every effort to prevent it, but after some

vigorous opposition the assembly was appointed to be held at Dublin. The whole proceedings were intemperate and tumultuous. Their assembly broke up without any decision; the members violently inflamed against each other divided into two contending parties, those who supported and those who opposed the remonstrance. To this latter party, the remonstrance not having been adopted was by no means considered as a sufficient triumph: their uncomplying spirit rejected every thing which in the smallest degree approximated to modification. Indeed it is the great character of party spirit to annihilate, if possible, every thing which does not coalesce with itself, one prevailing idea absorbing every other which connects man with man. It has no feeling, no remorse, but considering its object superior to every thing, it thinks no sacrifice too mighty to obtain it; hence it was that the party opposing the remonstrance thought it quite justifiable that those who had framed and supported it should be persecuted and suppressed. Thus was the bitterness of animosity infused into the catholic party within themselves.

Such were the existing circumstances of the party on the arrival of Lord Berkeley, when to put the violent measures of the opposing individuals into effect, provincial councils and diocesan synods were convened. The pope, who named the bishops and commanded the preferments of regulars, found no difficulty in forming his party. The remonstrants were every where dispossessed of their cures and stations. Walsh and his associates were denounced, excommunicated, and left absolutely without the means of subsistence; but by submitting to their persecutors, or exiling themselves, where they were in danger of being burnt as heretics for denying the temporal power of the pope. The anti-remonstrants on their part

had gained a powerful partisan in Peter Talbot, created by the pope archbishop of Dublin, for the decided purpose of chastising the presumptuous opposers of his temporal authority. The new archbishop by frequenting the English court had acquired a passion for political intrigue. He had there enjoyed high favour, was considered of great consequence by the popish clergy, a reverence and servility so pleasing to him that in order to exalt it he had the confidence publicly to declare, that the king had appointed him to superintend their whole order in Ireland. He had the audacity to appear before the council at Dublin in the habit of his order and station, and Berkeley instead of remonstrating against this infringement of the laws, dismissed him unmolested, though he refused to join in any recognition of loyalty. But an incident trifling in itself made a deeper impression on the protestant party than things apparently of more moment.

Talbot proposed to celebrate a mass in Dublin with extraordinary splendour. On this occasion he publicly applied to Sir Ellis Leighton to borrow some plate and drapery which made part of the furniture of the castle. The secretary complied, and in his compliment to Talbot is said to have expressed a wish that high mass might soon be celebrated at Christ church. The insolence of these presuming prelates, conscious of being upheld by a powerful party, was severely felt by the poor remonstrants; they naturally sought relief from the head of the government, and justice and policy equally dictated that it should be granted to them. Secretly instructed, however, or basely intimidated by fear of Talbot, the governor refused to interpose his authority for their protection. Thus Talbot and his colleagues proceeded with impunity in the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction,

and in his severities against those who presumed to maintain the odious doctrine of allegiance. These indulgences to the Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction were by no means the only favour shown to Irish catholics. Their spirit was too encroaching to rest, while any privileges remained unenjoyed by them: many civil and political were granted to them. Protestants were astonished and alarmed; they possessed their imaginations with new plots and massacres. Crosses were discovered over all the doors of papists, a mark of distinction which it was said intended to secure the inhabitants from slaughter on the day of execution. These fears, perhaps, were not unnatural, but the circumstance of the crosses is a proof how easily the most common occurrence is connected with the principle when it gains possession of the mind, and how much it increases its force.

The crosses which were interpreted as ensigns of murder and massacre were nothing more than those crosses of straw which the vulgar Irish in their childish superstition affix to the front of their habitations on the festival called Corpus Christi. They were intended to secure the inhabitants not from massacre but witchcraft and evil spirits. At this time it was industriously whispered, and the popish party encouraged by every means the rumour, that Charles in his exile had promised the French king to restore the Irish to their estates, and the full freedom of their religion. These rumours were countenanced by the attempts made by Talbot to infringe the acts of settlement. Indeed it daily became more evident that it was the aim of the popish party to effect the abolition of those laws, although they for the present affected moderation. In their private memorials to the king and the duke they represented the rebellion of forty-one but as the act of a

few driven to arms by fear and oppression, that the insurgents had submitted, and adhered to the subsequent peace and to the late king's service; they acquiesced in the declaration of his present majesty and desired only a compensation in money from the king's new revenues. At the same time they magnified their power and consequence in Ireland and their attachment to the crown, desired to be restored to their habitations and freedom in corporate towns, to magistracies, and military command; that the army should be formed gradually of catholics, and the courts of law with catholic judges, they even went so far as to hint the propriety of catholic prelates being admitted into parliament. Ormond was one of the committee appointed to consider a petition to this effect, sent by a number of lords and gentlemen to the king and parliament. The duke could not but feel alarm at the bold and dangerous design of overturning the whole settlement of Ireland. He was aware some errors had been committed and individual grievances sustained, but he also knew these could not be redressed by casting the kingdom into general confusion. He urged that the petitioners might not be heard, nor their counsel admitted to object against the acts. This he could not obtain, he therefore fully answered all the allegations, and the attorney-general reported unfavourably against the petitioners. But the cabal were not thus to be counteracted; another committee, from which Ormond was excluded, was empowered to revise "all papers and orders for the settlement of Ireland," &c. Their report was erroneous; a third commission was issued, and many months wasted in the search of materials to form another report. During these transactions Ireland was a scene of alarm, petitions from every party of protestants were trans-

mitted to England, all agreeing in the maintenance of the present settlement. Even in England the people were not indifferent to Irish affairs. Terrified by every indulgence granted to popery—suspicious of the king—certain of the duke's disposition, they complained and murmured. The ministry took the alarm, and feared they had been too precipitate in the development of their designs, they hypocritically affected to condemn the conduct of Lord Berkeley, and to cover their real intentions removed him from his station, appointing the Earl of Essex in his place. But the English parliament were not satisfied with this measure alone; they presented an address to the king on the affairs of Ireland, and among many requisitions it contained, was that all popish prelates and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by the pope's authority, particularly Peter Talbot, pretended Archbishop of Dublin, should be commanded to depart from Ireland; that all convents and seminaries should be dissolved, and all secular priests banished: that Colonel Richard Talbot, assuming the title of agent of the Roman catholics of Ireland, should be dismissed from all command and forbidden access to his majesty's court; and lastly, that the chief governors of Ireland should be ordered and directed to encourage the English planters and protestant interest, and to suppress the disorders of the Irish papists.

These representations were too forcible and important to be altogether treated with indifference; the king declared his resolution to maintain the act of settlement; the obnoxious proceedings in the corporation of Dublin were reversed and ejected protestants restored. But in the settlement of these affairs much turbulence occurred, to suppress which the Earl of Essex discovered more of timid and cold caution than the firm and manly

spirit of a vigorous governor. Embarrassments and difficulties indeed, seemed to accompany his whole administration, particularly in executing the acts of settlement in a country which he emphatically styled "rent and torn," that he could compare its distractions to nothing better than flinging the reward upon the death of a deer among a pack of hounds, when every one pulls and tears what he can for himself.

It is irrelevant to our subject to detail the series of occurrences and intrigues which exposed the Duke of Ormond to the envy of his enemies, and the busy faction which even put his life in danger; the unmanly conduct of Charles towards him, and his final political acknowledgment of his merit, his past services, and resolution to call them again into action by reinstating him in the government of Ireland. Throughout the whole we trace in Ormond the noble and dauntless integrity of a true patriot and upright statesman, moderate in prosperity, patient in adversity, conciliating in opposition, dignified under insult, firm in principle, and dutiful in submission.

After an elapse of a year, during which period Charles had never deigned to speak to this meritorious servant, although he appeared daily at court, the capricious monarch sent the duke a message that he would sup with him. Nothing political passed during the visit, which was pleasing and cheerful, but on parting Charles signified his intention of again employing him in Ireland. The next morning on seeing Ormond approach to pay his usual duty, Charles said, "Here comes Ormond: I have done all I can to disoblige him, and to make him as discontented as others, but he will be loyal in spite of me. I must even employ him again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland." In this manner did the witty Charles

pay a just compliment to the invariable integrity of Ormond, and assign to him its reward. From this period the appointment of the duke was decided, and it only remained to give intimation to the Earl of Essex of his removal. Various motives were assigned by the several parties for this appointment of the duke, but it is pretty certain that political reasons, not a sense of pure gratitude, urged Charles to this apparent act of justice and favour. It is believed that Charles wished to appoint Monmouth to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, but that York fearing his rival should by this station get too great a taste for power, and increase his already great popularity, exerted himself with the king in favour of Ormond, and succeeded as we have related. Be this as it may, the first cares of Ormond's administration were respecting the army, which he found in much disorder, as were the revenues. To remedy abuses an Irish parliament was deemed necessary, in order to provide for the honour and security of the kingdom. Ormond was fully engaged in the various and pressing duties of his renewed high station, when intelligence reached him of the popish plot, and that it extended to Ireland; that Peter Talbot was engaged in it, and that persons were hired to assassinate the lord lieutenant. In the terror and alarm created by this official account from England, amidst the clamours of the vulgar, the violent and the designing, Ormond proceeded with his characteristic temper, steadiness, and vigour. He disarmed the papists, settled the militia, secured the garrisons, and kept the army untainted. Peter Talbot, who was lingering under a painful and dangerous illness, meanwhile removed to the castle to silence all murmurs, and where the supposed conspirator received every attention which his declining state required, nothing having been dis-

covered among his papers to implicate him in the smallest degree. But such is the virulence of party, and its readiness to think ill of those who accord not in opinion, that an administration conducted with temper, by which the protestants were secured from false alarms of danger, without relaxation of that care and vigilance which the circumstances of the time required, and without irritating the popish party by severity or oppression, was yet unsatisfactory to many protestants in Ireland. Various methods were adverted to, to urge the Duke to more violent measures by alarming his fears, and expressing dissatisfaction with his conduct. Complaints against him, however unreasonable or absurd, were eagerly received and greatly exaggerated in England by the prevailing party. The press, then noted for its licentiousness, the virulence of private slander, the prejudices of the narrow minded, the credulity of the vulgar, the art of popular leaders, were all in conspiracy to load the Duke of Ormond with inclining to popery, and that because he had not carried fire and sword against the catholics, merely because they might do mischief and were *suspected of being suspicious.* It was on such insinuations of Shaftesbury against Ormond in the House of Lords, that the amiable Earl of Ossory uttered that energetic indirect eulogium on his noble father, which should have covered his calumniator with confusion.

Shaftesbury, anxious to remove Ormond from his government, was delighted at any thing like an insurrection there, which gave him opportunity to depreciate the conduct of the governor. The king, however, declared he was resolved he never should be removed, nor would he concur in any changes proposed by the artful Shaftesbury. The intriguing party hence found they must proceed cautiously and indirectly. They endeavoured to

produce the rebellion they professed to dread, by resolving to procure orders for the council of Ireland to transmit severe bills against catholic recusants. Should they refuse, they must be removed; should they obey, the Irish might be driven to rebellion. Not content with this intrigue the most nefarious means were resorted to, in order to make it believed that a plot was formed in Ireland by the catholics. Through the whole melancholy progress of perjury and subornation which marked this political manœuvre, the Duke of Ormond acted with his usual dignity, firmness, and caution, and every dishonourable means made use of to discredit him in the popular favour and in the confidence of the king, were defeated by his prudence and integrity. He stood the attacks of his virulent enemies unmoved, and when all apprehensions of Irish plot were allayed, and those accused were clearly acquitted, the minds of the people were relieved from a terrible state of excitement. The composed state of national affairs enabled Ormond to commit the sword of state to the Earl of Arran as deputy, and to obey the call of the king to repair to England.

The arbitrary measures at this period adopted by Charles were so inconsistent with the usual tenour of his conduct, that it has been with some justice asserted they were in consequence of the influence which the Duke of York had obtained over his indolent and facile temper. It was therefore not surprising that he should wish for the countenance of such a devoted servant as Ormond. The Duke, however, was by no means in possession of the full confidence of either the king or York, for it was impossible that a character so just and upright could have approved or sanctioned the councils and purposes which engaged Charles and his too bigoted brother. After two years residence

in England he returned to his government, not being able to prevail on the king to comply with his wishes of calling an Irish parliament, and on his return he soon found designs were formed to which it was impossible he could give his concurrence.

The Duke of York incessantly urged the king to secure the popularity which he had regained since the affair of the Rye-house Plot, by raising an army devoted to his service. For this purpose he directed his attention to Ireland, a country which, he said, if properly managed, would with implicit devotion conform to his wishes. Here he besought the king to look for such a military establishment as might give respect and stability to his government. But it was not the present army of Ireland for which the Duke so peremptorily engaged, this he regarded as an assemblage of factious fanatical republicans, comprehended indeed under the general name of protestants, but totally unreconciled to the existing doctrines of absolute submission and obedience, the descendants of those who resisted his royal father, nurtured in the same principles, and ready for the same crimes.

It was upon another and a far different party he entreated and advised his royal brother to rest his reliance, that of the powerful body of catholics, who, notwithstanding all their grievances, were unalterably attached to the crown, and the presumptive heir, and whose principles and interest must devote them entirely to his service, whose zeal would be enlivened by being restored to favour and consequence, and relieved from the oppression of sectaries and rebels. Charles, with that careless compliance which his indolence created, hastily adopted a scheme which required the most mature consideration and deliberate reflection.

But he was well aware it could not be put in

practice under the government of Ormond, being a design totally repugnant to his well known principles. An individual was indeed already fixed upon. Ormond had scarcely, as he expressed it, "felt his head settled from the agitation of the sea," when he received private intimation of his removal, which was soon followed by a letter from the king couched in the most flattering terms, but expressive of his obligation of removing him from the government, as almost general alterations were to be made in Ireland. In order to break the possible mortification this removal might occasion, Lord Rochester, connected by marriage with Ormond, was appointed to succeed him, but with power so limited that it was scarcely more than nominal. He was not to interfere in military affairs, or to name the lowest commissioned officer in the army. That whole province was to be assigned to a lieutenant general, and Richard Talbot, the well known and violent patron of the catholic party, was to be invested with this important station and authority. Nothing could tend more to reconcile Ormond to his removal from a station to which he was naturally, and from the most laudable feeling, strongly attached, than to find he was not to be charged with forming a popish party, in the effecting of which he anticipated manifold evils to the country, which seemed unhappily destined to be the continual scene of violent party animosities, rendered yet more bitter by being mingled with religious controversies, and opinions so discordant.

Rochester discovered some reluctance to assuming the government assigned him with such limitations, this and the fluctuating state of mind betrayed by Charles a short time previous to his decease, suspended Irish affairs for awhile. The hopes of the protestants revived, those of the Ro-

manists sunk in proportion when the death of Charles followed by the immediate recall of Ormond, again produced a total revolution in the prospects, and gave fresh excitement to the passions of the several parties, opening a new scene in Ireland, and once more plunging it into the horrors of anarchy, subjecting the unhappy protestants to the inveterate passions of their hereditary enemies, stimulated by every motive which a thirst for power, a greediness of property, or the bigotry of religion could inspire.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Charles and James different in character, but united in opinion —Causes of the latter—Catholics of Ireland animated with high expectations on the accession of James—Anecdote—Lords justices—Chancellor Boyle and Earl of Granard—Protestants disarmed—Triumph of the papists—Talbot created Earl of Tyrconnel—Lord Clarendon made lord lieutenant—Boyle deprived of the seals—Protestants displaced for Catholics—Plans of James gradually developed—Tyrconnel returns invested with great power—His violence—Army new modelled—Tyrconnel intrigues in England to impugn the act of settlement—Tyrconnel supersedes Clarendon in the government—Character of Tyrconnel—Protestants emigrate—Arbitrary proceedings of Tyrconnel—Mandate to the University—Tyrconnel seizes the University plate—Second mandate of the king—Tyrconnel stops the pension of the University—James's insincerity—Popish party contend between themselves—Birth of a prince —Unbounded joy of Irish Catholics—General state of national feeling—Arrival of the Prince of Orange in England creates a great sensation in Ireland—Alarming informations —Panic of the people—Protestant associations formed—James's expedition to Ireland—Resolution of the people of Londonderry—Violence of Tyrconnel—Premature measures of the Protestants—James's entry into Dublin—Proceedings of the king—George Walker—Siege of Londonderry—Ill success of the king's troops—He assembles a parliament at Dublin—Proceedings and acts of it—Unjust proscription—Unpopular measures—Arbitrary attempts against the University—Noble conduct of a popish ecclesiastic—Wretched state of the Protestant clergy—Violences of the Romish clergy—Protestants remonstrate—Severe restrictions of the Protestants—Causes of discontent and disorder—A force sent under Schomberg—His proceedings—Apathy of James's troops—Siege of Carrickfergus—Distress of Schomberg's army—Elation of the king's troops—Make some movements indicating an attack of Schomberg's camp—but retreat—Distresses of Schomberg's army increase—Triumph of the enemy—Effects of religious zeal—

Armies retire to winter quarters—William determines to prosecute the Irish war in person—Protestants animated with hope—Their activity—Want of judgment in James's measures—Proceedings of both armies—Departure of James—Disadvantages attending William.

ALTHOUGH the characters of Charles and his brother stood directly opposed, yet on two points their opinions entirely coincided, the desire of arbitrary power and a constant effort to obtain it, and an attachment to Catholicism. These opinions which occasioned a continual struggle between the crown and the people, privilege and prerogative being ever at variance, were the fatal result of the circumstances attending the eventful lives of these princes, and which in fact might be said to have taken place from their birth, or rather the union which produced it. The unhappy consequences of a marriage between two persons of different religious principles was never more strikingly exemplified than in the marriage of Charles the first with Henrietta of France; Charles himself frequently could bear witness to this truth, which he emphatically stiled his "greatest temporal infelicity," but the consequences were more strongly displayed in their offspring. Henrietta like every good Catholic, believed herself bound to obey her spiritual director, rather than her husband. If the interests of her religion could be advanced, all other duties were to be disregarded, all other ties cheerfully severed. It was this zeal so strictly enjoined by the Romish church, which induced the widowed Henrietta to endeavour to draw her children from that religion in which their father had died a martyr, and though the conduct of Charles, when he discovered she was seducing the amiable Gloucester, proved that at that time his own mind was unperverted, yet his subse-

quent conduct proved the unhappy consequences of having been brought up in a family divided in this great essential point. A difference of this kind can never be concealed from the children when they become capable of observation. Even if the evil extended no further, this should be considered as no light misfortune to the infant mind. To lose the important advantages of maternal instruction in this most momentous of all concerns, that earliest and natural instruction which is so congenial to the human heart, and of all others strikes the deepest root, cannot but be attended with lamentable consequences. But the unhappy royal family suffered more than this. The very principle of their belief was unsettled, that difference between the faith of their parents, if it at first excited only curiosity, unconsciously led to indifference or doubt, and this consequence would have been inevitable even if the queen under a sense of obedience to her husband had refrained from those indirect means of influencing her children, from which no Catholic mother who truly believes the tenets of her own church, will, or indeed ought to refrain. The dying prayer of the unfortunate Charles for the righteousness of the nation, and for the religion and honour of his sons was alas to appearance vain. Both had been corrupted, and that corruption was both a consequence and a punishment of the national crimes. Even the personal vices, and the political errors of Charles the second and his successor, were in no small degree the result of the unhappy circumstances into which they were plunged by the rebellion. How different might have been their conduct had they grown up in peace at their father's court, even though the temptations to which their rank exposed them, had counteracted the influence of his

beautiful moral example. There they would at least have been educated in old English feelings, and in an English taste, with that expansion of mind which readily grants to every station its due prerogative, in order to form the harmonious whole of a community. Had they grown up in a court which could boast of much refinement, they would not have been so detached as they were from that patriot interest, which should ever live in the breasts of princes. Amongst the irreparable evils which the civil war brought in its train, certainly not amongst the least must be ranked the exile of the royal family, who by it had their taste vitiated, their religious principles shaken or corrupted, and their manners divested of that propriety and purity which is the distinguishing praise of the British court.*

Thus have we endeavoured to trace to its origin that union of religious principle between the royal brothers which one concealed under an apparent indifference to all modes, and the other after having long secretly cherished, at length openly avowed. Fourteen years had elapsed since Charles and his brother had first betrayed their wish and purpose of establishing a catholic interest in Ireland, as deeming the experiment there less hazardous. The spirited remonstrances of the English parliament however, obliged them to suspend the attempt, but it was very far from being abandoned. When the royal authority appeared uncontrouled, it was renewed by Charles with that inconsiderate acceptance so usual to him, of any measures which seemed likely to secure his ascendancy, and by James with the bigoted and passionated zeal of a true Romanist. When James by the unexpected death of his

* See Quarterly Review, No. 57. article, Burnet's History.

brother found himself invested with sovereignty, he mistook the acclamations of a triumphant faction, for the universal joy of all his subjects, and upon this false presumption he very soon proceeded to measures which laid the foundation of his ruin. Notwithstanding he had declared he would preserve the laws inviolably, he openly and formally avowed his religion, publicly practising all its ceremonies in direct opposition to those laws. But it was in Ireland more particularly that the mask was thrown off, and that James seemed to regard himself fully at liberty to proceed according to the ardour of his zeal, and the violence of his desire of arbitrary power. As he had long avowed his religious sentiments, on his accession to the throne the Catholics of Ireland were animated by high expectations, and fondly anticipated every advantage likely to flow from a monarch of their own persuasion. Ormond was of course removed from his administration, and that with an impatience which proved how deeply rooted were the prejudices of the party against him. The age and infirmities of the duke were however plausibly assigned as the reasons of his removal, and Ormond suffered the excuse to stand. An anecdote is related of him which displays his equanimity under the reverse of fortune. During his administration, a stately hospital had been erected for the reception of old soldiers,*

* The Royal Hospital of Kilmainham for the support of the invalids of the Irish army, was founded by Charles the second, on a plan similar to that of Chelsea in England. The building was completed in 1683, and cost upwards of 23,500*l*. It is situated to the west of Dublin, on an ascent near the south side of the river, and is approached through an avenue of fine trees. The edifice is of quadrangular form, enclosing a spacious area handsomely laid out with grass and gravel. An arcade is carried along the lower story in

before his departure he invited the military officers to an entertainment at this noble institution. On its conclusion, filling his glass to the very brim, he addressed his guests, "See gentlemen!—they say at court I am old and doating, but my hand is steady, nor doth my heart fail, and I hope to convince some of them of their mistake. This to the king's health!" Ormond had been directed to commit the sword of state to the hands of two lords justices. The persons chosen had proved their fidelity. One was the primate and chancellor, Boyle, and the other, the Earl of Granard, both protestants. Such, however, were the fears of the protestant party on the removal of Ormond, and the manifest joy of the catholic party, that they regarded every circumstance with doubt and suspicion. Even the lords justices were suspected of not being true to the church. The primate was considered as having a bias to popery, and Lord Granard as a sectary advanced, in order to divide the protestant interest. But although thus the objects of ill grounded fear and suspicion, the lords justices, whatever might be their political or religious disparity concurred most amicably in support of the general interests of protestants, and of the public tranquillity. Still the insolence of the papists was so manifested, and the animosities of both parties so troublesome that Lord Granard intimated his wish to retire from his high responsibility. But James would not admit this resignation, and in order to reconcile him to remain, assured Lord Granard that nothing should be done prejudicial to the protestant interest in Ireland. A promise which it will be seen

each square to the entrance of the hall and chapel, which are both handsomely decorated. In the former are several portraits of royal and other distinguished personages.

James made use of his favourite dispensing power to free himself from, when he found it convenient. During the subsequent rebellion of Monmouth, the Catholics of Ireland momentarily expected, and flattered themselves that the puritans at least would endeavour to raise an insurrection in his favour, and it was even insidiously whispered, that Lord Granard was to share the fortunes of the popular duke. Their disappointment however was extreme, no commotion was attempted, no disloyalty appeared, but a resolution to support the reigning prince was universally expressed.

But still the virulent and designing of the popish party affected to believe there was latent danger. Tales were framed, informations taken, and even night meetings were said to be held by protestants to organize a conspiracy. These malignant and odious calumnies were circulated by designing men, of whom there were at this period so many, in order to give to their party the merit of being persecuted for their faith, and more especially to justify the severities which were meditated against the protestants. These designs were soon put in execution after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, when James experienced that natural triumph of heart so inherent in man, in having discomfited an individual whom he dreaded and hated. In England his measures were sufficiently arbitrary, but in Ireland they were unreserved, and Monmouth's rebellion was made the justifying plea. A letter to the lords justices informed them that as that rebellion had been extensively diffused it was necessary for the safety of Ireland to disarm the protestants, who composed the militia of the kingdom, embodied, armed, and disciplined by Ormond. The consternation which this order created was greatly augmented by the intemperate triumph of papists. Commotions were ap-

prehended, but by the prudence of the lords justices, the orders of government were obeyed without disturbance. This act however, was but the commencement of deep laid and long meditated designs which were gradually and cautiously to be unfolded. A new chief governor was necessary to effect them. For this purpose, Talbot, the avowed patron of the Irish, was created Earl of Tyrconnel. His boundless ardour for the Catholic cause, added to the natural fire of his temper, and contracted his heart to that one object, while the blindness of his prejudices urged him precipitately on the course which his bigotry suggested. Thus constituted, he was a fit instrument to effect the purposes of James, and alas! to plunge unhappy Ireland into troubles she was but too well acquainted with. Scarcely had Monmouth's rebellion been suppressed, when the Irish Catholic bishops appeared to anticipate the wishes of the king by petitioning that he would be pleased to establish the Earl of Tyrconnel in such authority in Ireland as might secure to them the exercise of their functions. But the time was not yet arrived, when James considered a compliance with this petition proper. For the present, therefore, he appointed his brother-in-law, Lord Clarendon, lord lieutenant of Ireland. The near affinity of Clarendon, and his professed loyalty and submission induced James to believe that he would second his designs, they were therefore in part disclosed to him. In his public instructions the king intimated his desire to grant some legal and official indulgences to the Catholics, while he condescended to assurances towards the protestants, calculated to dissipate suspicions and allay apprehensions. The new lord lieutenant was instructed to declare that no thought of changing the act of settlement was entertained.

When Lord Clarendon received the sword of state, he expressed his satisfaction at assuming an administration in such perfect peace and tranquillity. This was either common place official language, or he was deceived, for in reality the public mind was in a high degree of fermentation. The disarming of the militia had encouraged the lawless banditti called tories, to issue from their mountain and woodland haunts. The English were defenceless, the Irish would not resist, Clarendon found it necessary to restore some arms to those most exposed to these ravagers, but he was too dilatory in his measures to effect much good. But robbery was the least evil the protestants had to endure; assured of encouragement from their employers, a number of base informers laboured to involve individuals in the guilt of treason, the lord lieutenant saw through the falsehood and malice of these innovations of party spirit, or private revenge, yet he could not venture firmly to discourage them on account of the jealousy of his sovereign against the protestants of Ireland. Of course the Catholics were fully aware of this prejudice, and failed not to improve it to their advantage. For this end they took measures to subvert the acts of settlement by sending agents to apply direct to the throne. Their petition if granted to its extent, must inevitably have resulted in the subversion of all establishment of property. Tyrconnel had repaired to England, on the arrival of Lord Clarendon in Ireland, and his representations seconding the petition, were received with perfect confidence by James, so readily does the judgment bend to the will of the selfish. It was very soon evident that Tyrconnel was favoured with the unbounded confidence of James in Irish affairs, and that violent and offensive measures were by no means unpleasing to

the cabinet. The primate Boyle, not having been found sufficiently servile to the dominant power, was abrubtly deprived of the seals of Ireland, and one more submissive, appointed chancellor. Protestants were removed from other places of trust and honour, and Catholics, not of unstained purity of character, were nominated to the vacated situations; Clarendon boldly represented that this introduction of Catholics, who had not taken the oath of supremacy, was contrary to law. The language of sincerity was not however pleasing to James when it opposed his bigotry. The English protestants very naturally took alarm at such changes and appointments, and many were urged to abandon a country which seemed fast verging to a Catholic state, and where a confusion of property rendered all precarious.

The Catholics seemed anxious to augment the terror of the opposite party, by incessantly dwelling upon the royal designs of intended alterations in their favour, and extraordinary changes in ecclesiastical affairs. The archbishopric of Cashel was vacant, and the popish clergy availing themselves of the king's unwillingness to fill it up, reported that he had written to the pope to nominate the prelate. Whether or no, this was grounded in fact, or the mere suggestion of vanity, it is certain that the revenue of this, and other vacant sees were reserved for the maintenance of popish bishops. The plans of James were gradually developed, orders were soon issued by his command, that the Catholic clergy should not be interrupted in the exercise of their functions, and these orders were very soon succeeded by a notification of his pleasure, that the prelates should appear publicly in the vestments of their order: with the same arrogance of power which urged him to violate the law, and insti-

tute the court of ecclesiastical commission in England, James now issued his command to the protestant clergy of Ireland, prohibiting them from treating of controversial points in the pulpit. The most scrupulous vigilance was given to detect any one offending in this point, and whoever presumed in the remotest and most indirect way to reflect on popery, was immediately delated to the king, and marked out as disaffected and seditious.

To increase the terror and the gloom which these measures caused to the protestants, Tyrconnel returned vested with augmented power, and with elated zeal in the cause in which his sentiments were so congenial to those of his royal master. As he was now empowered to command and regulate the army quite independent of the lord lieutenant, he proceeded with all his characteristic violence to the fulfilment of his commissions. Officers and privates were alike dismissed from the army, which was completely new modelled. No plausible cause was even assigned, but an indiscriminate change was made, frequently rendered more mortifying by abuse, and contumely, or distressing by injustice and cruelty. The places of these individuals, hated and removed only because they were protestants, were supplied by Catholics, the worst and meanest of whom even were appointed. In all preferments those Irish were the most readily admitted, who entertained the highest notions of papal authority. And so extreme was the ignorance of the vulgar that when they had taken the oath of fidelity, they imagined they had sworn fidelity to the pope and their religion, and declared that their priests had forbidden them from taking any other oath! Tyrconnel, in his fiery zeal, certainly exceeded the commands of James, which implied that all

his subjects should indiscriminately be admitted to serve him without regard to religious principles, but the lieutenant general issued strict orders that none but Catholics should be admitted into the army. Clarendon firmly remonstrated, and Tyrconnel was for a moment daunted so far as nearly to deny his own orders, which had been both peremptory and explicit. So much indeed did his evident partiality encourage the Catholics, that the more tumultuous of them openly boasted that in a few months there would not remain a protestant in the army, and that now they had the power of arms, they should speedily regain their lands. Many of the popish clergy even forbad the people to pay tythes to protestant incumbents. Clarendon remonstrated and applied to the king and his ministry respecting these extravagancies, but the power of habitual submission was strongly exemplified in his conduct, for while he represented the violence and presumption of Tyrconnel, he declared his readiness to execute the king's purposes whatever they might be, though in a manner less offensive and alarming. Nothing satisfactory resulted from his application, but on the contrary, James now refused to repeat his former assurances of maintaining the acts of settlement by a proclamation. Tyrconnel was left at liberty therefore to proceed in his violent course. His intrigues and attention were not confined to the army, which having more than half filled with Catholics, he hastened to England to endeavour to persuade the king to rescind the acts of settlement. Some of the counsellors however retaining a strong affection for what was deemed the English interest in Ireland, represented the danger of the measure in so strong a view, that it had some effect on the king. Tyrconnel in order to second his views, had engaged

an acute and artful lawyer, and on the king's cold reception of the proposal, the popish party resolved to employ the abilities of this man to impugn the act of settlement. He accordingly wrote a treatise on the injustice of the act. It was in the form of a letter from Coventry, and known at the time as the "Coventry Letter." In the meantime it was found convenient to find fault with Clarendon's administration. He was not found an instrument entirely suited to the political designs of the court faction. The appointment of a successor occupied the deep deliberations of the cabinet, at length, Sunderland the minister, flattered the manifest partialities of his sovereign, by recommending Tyrconnel. The rapacity of the minister was gratified by his appointment, for Tyrconnel had stipulated to pay him an annual pension from the profits of the Irish government! He assumed the power under the title of lord deputy. As this nobleman forms a conspicuous figure in the subsequent scenes, we shall have to describe, we shall give a sketch of his character, the fidelity of the portrait being substantiated by his actions. It is in the contending interests of the world that the soul of man is completely developed.

He was a native of Ireland, and descended from the race of the old English of the pale, and was born at the period when that race were in union with the original Irish. Hence he was nurtured in their political prejudices, was early initiated in their intrigues, and led from the ardour of his temperament to concur in their insurrections. From earliest infancy his sentiments of religion and politics were imbibed from the most bigoted to popery, and the most hostile to English government. In early youth he had narrowly escaped from the infernal scene of carnage at

Drogheda. That scene so strongly impressed his imagination, that he ever after associated in his mind the abhorrent ideas of fanaticism and protestantism, and to wage war against what he thus identified became the deep and determined purpose of his soul. Vivacity of manners, and a certain pliant obsequiousness, ever found flattering to those accustomed from their rank to homage, recommended him to Charles and his brother on the continent, at a period when his wit and buoyancy of spirit were particularly acceptable. He seems to have possessed much of that impetuosity of passion, and uncertainty of action which so remarkably distinguishes his countrymen, for in his menaces he discovered more the sudden ebullitions of over wrought passion, than resolution of performance. Yet that general placability which marks spirits of quick susceptibilities and resentments, seems not to have formed a part of his character. On the contrary, revenge once admitted in his bosom, he steadily and unalterably pursued its cruel dictates. However genuine might have been his zeal for the honour and extension of his religion during early youth, it degenerated into an unmixed spirit of faction, for his life was profligate, his conversation profane, and his moral sense so obtuse, that his disregard to truth was ever proverbial. Naturally vain, insolent and arbitrary, as he acquired power, these unamiable traits of character, unchecked by any sense of religion were continually displayed by insults, cruelty, and brutality. And if at any time self interest induced him to condescend to insinuation or artifice, this violence against nature was quickly betrayed, for the smallest disappointment threw him into frightful paroxisms of rage. What can be expected from a man unchecked in his worldly career, by one principle of

religion or moral obligation? "Who believes no providence, adores no creator, and fears no judge?" Hence, that every step of Tyrconnel's exaltation was gained by servility, flattery, and bribery, and enjoyed without temper, justice, or propriety, can be no subject of wonder to those who have studied the human heart. To this infidel in principle, and tyrant in practice, Lord Clarendon resigned the sword of state, which committed the destinies of a nation to his keeping. The agitation of the kingdom was general and violent. On Clarendon's departure he was attended by fifteen hundred protestant families of Dublin, who abandoned a country where every thing that was dear and valuable to them was exposed to the violence and malignity of a triumphant party, and where all power was vested in popish ministers and officers of state. It was in courts thus supplied with Catholics, whose notorious ill characters were redeemed by their religious zeal and their servility to the dominant power, that the validity of outlawries and forfeitures of the titles of protestants, and the claims of papists were to be determined! The army almost entirely formed of Catholics were of course at the devotion of government. A number of the protestant officers who had been deprived of commissions which they had purchased, and were in consequence driven from the kingdom, sought refuge in Holland, and prepared the way for that great revolution to which the bigotry and impolicy of James was precipitating his people.

The innovations of Tyrconnel on the civil bodies were as peremptory and as decided in favour of his party as the remodelling the army. The corporations were filled with Catholics, by the most arbitrary and unjustifiable means. From the invasions made by James on the learned seminaries

in England, it was naturally to be expected that the university of Dublin would not escape his vigilance. It had ever been an object of jealousy and envy to those who wished to make the nation papal, and ere the removal of Lord Clarendon the king's intentions were disclosed by a mandate presented to the governors of the university, directing them to admit an individual named Green a Catholic, to a professorship, with its emoluments and salary. This professorship was artfully styled in the king's letter, that of the Irish language, the ignorance of his advisers and even his own was betrayed, as no such establishment had yet been made in the university. Green was thus disappointed in his expected honour and emoluments. But the incident led the members to expect some innovations, for which indeed the arbitrary measures of the king respecting both Cambridge and Oxford prepared them. They largely shared in the general consternation of the protestants on the appointment of Tyrconnel, and with the timidity of men who were unacquainted with the tumults and collisions of the world, they resolved to convert most of their plate into money for the purpose of strengthening their body, by the erection of new buildings and the purchase of new lands. Having obtained the permission of their visitors, Clarendon was solicited to take the charge of the plate to England, as to a superior market.

Informed of this simple transaction, Tyrconnel determined to possess himself of the prize; he caused the plate to be seized in the port of Dublin, and deposited it in the king's stores. The more moderate of his adherents, however, ashamed of an act so tyrannical, succeeded, with much difficulty, in prevailing upon him to restore the plate to the university. This plate was subse-

quently sold, and the fury of Tyrconnel revived, the purchaser was accused of buying stolen goods, the property of the king, and obliged to give security to prosecute the governors of the university. The attorney-general, however, being in high favour with the fiery lord deputy, by the authority of his opinion defended the university from any further outrage respecting the affair. The terror, however, it had excited in the minds of the quiet collegians, a terror which at this period we cannot sufficiently and duly estimate, had scarcely subsided, when a second mandate from the king directed that a person of the name of Doyle should be admitted to a fellowship, and that without taking any oaths but that of a fellow. It appeared as if James were resolved to try the patience and the principles of the members of his universities, by the persons he required to be admitted of their bodies. This individual, Doyle, was profligate and ignorant, but he was lately become a convert to popery, and this merit was deemed worthy of reward. Once more, however, the ignorance of patrons defeated the purposes of party, and the hopes of the convert. The oath of a fellow included in it that of supremacy, this Doyle refused to take. The vexation of Tyrconnel was displayed in a manner consistent with his narrowness of mind, and meanness of revenge. He stopped the pension annually paid to the university from the exchequer, and which in fact, at this period, constituted the larger portion of their resources. In the meantime, the public calamities increased under a government, oppressive and arbitrary in every view; and such was the senseless bigotry and blind prejudice of the popish ministers, that they apprehended not that in a state it was impossible that one portion could suffer without

affecting the whole. In oppressing the protestants, they forgot the ruin of the catholics must follow. The English ministers, whose views not wholly confined to the establishment of popery, were rather more extended and comprehensive, were alarmed at the defalcation in the Irish revenues, and attributing it to the true cause, they urged the king to appoint a more temperate and efficient governor. Tyrconnel, informed of the prejudices against him, obtained permission to quit Ireland for a while, and to attend the king, then on his progress to Chester. The chief baron of the exchequer, who attended him, so plausibly represented the state of things in Ireland, as favourable to the administration of his patron, that James thought himself justified in remitting Tyrconnel to his government. So difficult is it officially to arrive at the truth. Several addresses were sent from Ireland to Chester, and James proved his insincerity in answering that from the university, which having declared that while they retained their religion, they should not depart from their loyalty, he, in his reply, assured them, that he had no doubt of the loyalty of any of the Church of England; yet Tyrconnel was commanded on his return to dismiss all the protestant officers in the army.

As the popish party had none to contend with, they entered into disputes amongst themselves. The detail is too trifling to enter upon; we shall merely say, that the ruin of the lord deputy was the object, and the instigation a private pique; and that the popish primate drew up the accusation against him, and the Earl of Castlemain was humbly recommended to the king, as worthy to be entrusted with the government, and qualified to effect the king's purposes there. The pope is said to have united in recommending Castlemain,

but the French ministers laboured to counteract him.

Tyrconnel was informed by them of these secret designs, and resolved, if possible, to circumvent them, by some evidence of zeal and abilities. He proposed to convene an Irish parliament, from which he had nothing to fear, as the sheriffs were Catholics; and every thing so modelled to his wishes, that it must prove entirely at the devotion of government. But his scheme proved entirely abortive. The mortification of the Irish Catholics on this point was soon allayed by the birth of a prince. 1688. Before they had any knowledge of the queen's pregnancy, they had disposed of the succession according to their own wishes; they had declared that Fitz-James, natural son to the king, should be legitimatized by the pope, and become inheritor of the crown. Their joy however on this occasion was unbounded, and a ludicrous instance of it is given in the popish lord mayor of Dublin, who committed the officers of Christ Church, Dublin to durance, because "their bells did not ring merrily enough" on this auspicious occasion.*

Nothing could exceed the gloom of Ireland at this period; the people appeared to have reached the maximum of suffering, that state of hopeless despondency, which so often precedes a grand moral convulsion. The materials for this fearful reaction of the moral and political energies of the nation, had gradually increased in strength and magnitude, till they produced an explosion whose

* Christ Church, or the Holy Trinity, built in 1038, by Durat, Bishop of Dublin, to whom Litricus, son of Amlave, King of the Ostmen in Dublin, granted the scite for that purpose, stands on a rising ground, at the extremity of Wine Tavern Street. It is a venerable Gothic pile, and its appearance evinces its antiquity.

operation was unattended with devastation, but important and glorious in its effects.

So prudently had the enterprise of the Prince of Orange been conducted, that it was yet unknown altogether to the king, when Tyrconnel received intelligence of it, and conveyed it to the English court. It was received with incredulity, but the truth soon became known, and Tyrconnel was directed to transport four thousand men into England. Every day new reports transpired, and in Ireland created the greatest sensation. The Catholics still affected to despise the attempt of the prince, exclaiming that the states were weary of him, and had therefore sent him on a desperate expedition, to end his days on a scaffold, like the Duke of Monmouth. But the party sunk into a depression proportionate to the exultation of their pride in success, when they found that William had actually landed at Torbay, been favourably received, that James had been deserted by his indignant subjects, and that the cause of the prince every day advanced. The state of affairs became deplorable; new commissions were issued by the lord deputy for levying forces; they were granted to all who would accept them, without even paying the fees of office. The popish clergy enjoined their people to take arms in such a time of danger to their cause. In every quarter of the kingdom arose an armed rabble, styling themselves the king's soldiers, unpaid and unrestrained, and supporting themselves by lawless depredations. It was in vain that the English inhabitants endeavoured to defend themselves against these marauders, and the whole country seemed reverting to barbarism and lawless anarchy, as if it had never known the blessing of security and order, and was totally insensible of every tie of social or civil life. Thus does the

spirit of party erase from the soul every feeling and principle which gives dignity to man, and which elevates his moral being. The feelings of social sympathy are sacrificed at the altar of opinion. In fact, the "spirit of party is a fatality from which few whom it once seizes are strong enough to escape." The public mind was in this state of distraction, when a letter, without signature, was addressed to Lord Mount Alexander, in the county of Down, warning him that a general massacre was contemplated by the Irish; the style was vulgar, but the intimation was full, confident, and circumstantial, pointing out the very day and time when the design was to be executed. A similar intelligence was conveyed to some other gentlemen of the northern province. Whether these letters were mere artifices, or were founded in truth, their influence was great upon a people habitually possessed with horrid ideas of Irish barbarity, who had been accustomed from infancy to listen to the terrible accounts of the insurrection in 1641, exaggerated by the feelings of relative affection. Commotions were at all periods too readily excited in the unhappy country, and few hesitated a moment to give credit to these alarming informations. They were confirmed by several coincident circumstances. Popish priests had announced to their congregations what they darkly termed "a secret intention," and enjoined them to stand ready armed to obey their orders. It was remembered, and was fearfully alluded to, that a friar of Derry had preached with much animation and energy on the subject of Saul's destroying the Amalekites, and the iniquity of sparing those whom divine vengeance had devoted to destruction.

The warning letters were sent to Dublin, copies

multiplied, and thus the intelligence spread through every grade of society. The capital became a scene of uproar and confusion; a tumultuous crowd ran precipitately to the shore, imploring to be conveyed from the daggers of the Irish. It was in vain that Tyrconnel sent persons to assure the panic struck wretches, that they were secure, and should be protected; the terrified multitude were deaf to these assurances. An unusual number of vessels were at this time in the harbour, the people crowded on board, leaving their less successful friends stupified with astonishment and terror. The whole country was quickly pervaded with the same terror. At length the inhabitants of Derry set the example of resisting the Catholics, and Protestant associations were universally formed. These associations were published in the several counties, declaring that they had united for self-defence, and the Protestant religion, that they were resolved to act according to the government of England, and to call a free parliament. County councils were nominated, and a general council, which appointed officers, and directed the operations of the associated body. Thus was a religious war once more to desolate Ireland, that most bitter of all animosities; for when a sentiment so inherently noble becomes mingled with human passions, with ambition, hypocrisy, or political intrigue, it depraves and indurates the heart it was intended to exalt and to soften. The circumstances of the abandonment of James by those subjects, whose rights he had so scornfully trampled upon, his dismay, his flight, and his refuge in France are all so well known, that it would be altogether unnecessary to enter into any detail of them. Indeed we are now arrived at a period, when, although diversity of religious faith was the grand

cause of contention, yet is entirely barren of any thing which may be regarded as relevant to our subject, the peaceful duties of the sacerdotal character and function being exchanged for the tumults of war, and the violent purposes of faction. Our retrospect, therefore, will be very brief of transactions which took place when James, assisted by Louis XIV., made an effort to regain his power, by an expedition to Ireland, where Tyrconnel had erected his standard, and the protestants were resolved to resist him.

Of all the northern cities, Londonderry afforded the principal shelter to the fugitive protestants. It was surrounded by a firm wall, but by no means sufficient to sustain the siege of a regular army. On the first alarm of the invasion of the Prince of Orange, Tyrconnel had recalled the garrison of this city to Dublin; but he soon perceived the error of leaving it to the government of the townsmen, and detached a regiment composed of papists, Irish, and Highlanders, to take their quarters at Londonderry. The inhabitants determined not to receive them. The bishop, cautious from years, and from his principles an enemy to resistance, preached peace and submission; but the spirit of opposition was roused, and the movement of an irritated people is not to be stopped at will; remonstrance has no power to still its impetuous violence. A brave defence against the papists was the general cry; the magazine afforded a few arms, and a small quantity of ammunition. They threatened to fire on the king's troops, and conjured their neighbours to concur with them in defence of their lives, their properties, their religion. An account of their dangers and proceedings was without delay transmitted to the society in London, to solicit succours from the prince, and at the same time the magistrates

and more moderate of the citizens addressed themselves to Lord Mountjoy, who had commanded the garrison, to mediate with Tyrconnel, acknowledging their utter inability to restrain the impetuosity of the people. They declared themselves determined to confine themselves to self-defence, without violating their allegiance. Tyrconnel issued orders to reduce the city, sending Lord Mountjoy, with six companies, for that purpose. Mountjoy, a protestant lord, was highly acceptable to the inhabitants, but not so his popish forces; they disclaimed all mutinous or seditious purposes, but were firm in resolve to defend themselves. Some conferences took place, and Mountjoy was admitted on conditions, taking the command of the city. By his advice the arms were repaired, money subscribed for the purchase of ammunition, and the agent in London solicited to procure provisions. We have thus cursorily related the resolution of the inhabitants of Derry, because it excited the spirit of general emulation among the protestants, and the example was in various places followed of refusing admittance to popish troops.

In the mean time various negociations were carried on with France, the result of which did but inflame the fury of Tyrconnel against the protestants. The arms yet remaining in their hands were wrested from them by the soldiers, their horses seized, their persons insulted, and houses plundered. In these violences he was further encouraged by intimations from James, that he would soon appear in Ireland with a powerful armament. In the interval the zeal and ardour of the protestants received several checks, and the contest was no longer bloodless. The northern associates had, on the assurance of supplies from England, proclaimed William and Mary in the

north-eastern towns. This premature and injudicious measure was soon checked; they were commanded by proclamation to lay down their arms and dissolve their assemblies. General Hamilton marched against them with considerable force; they retired before him, were overtaken, again fled, and were pursued with slaughter. They gained Hilsborough, their principal seat, were compelled to abandon it, resign the castle, and continue their flight: they appeared entirely broken; several fled to England, others accepted protections from the Irish army. By the spirit and prudence of their leaders, however, four thousand rallied and took their station at Coleraine, which they were able to fortify, as well as to collect their forces, as the Irish were fully engaged in riot and plunder.*

Coleraine was at length attacked, and the enemy bravely repulsed, but the place was not long found tenable. The Irish after a successful skirmish passed the Bann in boats, and the associates fled by different routes to Derry. The government of this city, after the departure of Mountjoy to negociate in France, had been resigned to Lundy, a man who flattered the protestants with professions of attachment and resolution to fight against the odious government of Tyrconnel; yet his sincerity was doubted, and as it proved, justly so. While his equivocal and uncertain conduct perplexed the people and had nearly obliged them to abandon the city, their agent arrived from London with assurances from William of speedy succours: they were urged not to abandon a

* *Coleraine*, in county of Londonderry, and province of Ulster. It was formerly a place of great consideration, it being the chief town of the county, and erected by Sir John Perrot during his able and vigorous government of Ireland. It is elegantly built.

cause so glorious, and which would speedily triumph. All murmurings, discontents, and apprehensions were dispelled by this communication; a brave defence was again the universal cry, the garrison was cheerfully regulated, provisions distributed, and even Lundy appeared to have caught the enthusiastic spirit, announcing his resolution of marching to engage the enemy. Such was the state of affairs when James, having determined to make Ireland the scene of his operations for the recovery of his power, landed at Kinsale.*

At Cork† Tyrconnel appeared to welcome his royal master, and with his characteristic cruelty displayed his zeal on the occasion by ordering a magistrate to execution, who had declared for the Prince of Orange. James created his zealous servant a duke, and proceeded in a stately progress to the capital, into which he made a splendid entry, followed by a numerous train of French, British, and Irish, and attended by the French ambassador, D'Avaux. He was met by the magistrates and the whole body of Roman ecclesi-

* Kinsale, in county Cork. In this place are the ruins of several monasteries and religious houses, which prove it to have been a place of some ecclesiastical consequence.

† Cork, capital of county of the same name. It is an episcopal see, the largest and most populous of any in the kingdom, Dublin alone excepted. It was built or rather fortified by the Danes in the ninth century. The see of Cork is reputed worth 22,700*l.* per annum. The chapter consists of a dean, chanter, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon, and 12 prebendaries. The church is dedicated to St. Barr, or Finbarr, and the diocese is divided into five deaneries. There is little to be found in ancient writers respecting the foundation of the cathedral, yet it is generally ascribed to St. Barr, in the seventh century. Many of its bishops have been benefactors to it. Through time the church became quite ruinous; it was therefore completely rebuilt, and is now an elegant modern structure.

astics, secular and regular in their appropriate habits, with the host borne in solemn procession and adored devoutly by the king, amidst the acclamations of those who favoured his cause and those who could not resist his power.

To those who know how easily the human heart is excited by circumstances addressed to the senses it cannot be subject of wonder that a scene so impressive elevated the popular feeling to the utmost pitch of devotional spirit, which prepared it to become the ready instrument of any agent employed to direct its operations. In the present instance the enthusiasm was superstition put in action, but without any just conceptions of the object which had put it in motion. Addresses in these moments of excited feeling poured upon the elated James from all quarters; that of the protestant established clergy touched gently on the distractions of the times and the grievances they had endured. The king graciously assured them of protection and redress. To the university he was yet more gracious, he promised to defend and even to enlarge their privileges. His actions however so ill accorded with these gracious assurances that coldness and suspicion took place of that confidence which had in the first burst of loyalty been excited. After several acts of sovereignty, of which one was the alarming removal of protestants from the privy council, and the admission of some of his zealous adherents, the king deemed the reduction of the north an important object of his attention. Various counsels respecting Londonderry (considered as the grand seat of what in the court of James was of course termed rebellion) were proposed and rejected. The plan ultimately fixed upon was to press it by slow siege, so as to inure the Irish forces to discipline and fatigue, and to teach them the arts of

war: in order to encourage the besiegers and alarm the obstinate insurgents, James resolved to conduct the operations himself. He was far from being an inexperienced soldier, and his military talents were eminent; early called into exercise and honourably displayed: his resolution therefore to command was calculated to encourage and animate his army; but he was to be resisted by an individual, who ranks among those gifted few, raised up in times and circumstances of great emergence by the exercise of their mental energies to direct the destinies of individuals or of nations, and to prove the empire of mind over physical force, the power of principle to resist the plans of prudence and the dictates of policy.

Among the resolute and active northerns who had associated themselves against the fiery Tyrconnel and the principles of his misguided master, was George Walker, a clergyman of a Yorkshire family, and rector of a parish in the county of Tyrone. In times of turbulence and danger, such as distracted Ireland, it became the duty of all men to unite in defence of their altar and their hearth, and this patriot call was obeyed by the unassuming rector. In the defence of law, liberty, and religion he added the sword to his pastoral staff; zealous and indefatigable in the cause to which he was attached, he raised a regiment and commanded it. In carrying his zeal thus beyond the proprieties of his sacred office, he was justified by the melancholy circumstances of his country. Abstractedly considered, it cannot be justified, nor ought it to be deemed any example or apology for clerical faction or political interference. As the army appeared to become more formidable by the arrival of James, the activity and ardour of Walker increased, and the contest would it is probable soon have been terminated had not the

cowardly and treacherous Lundy shamefully abandoned his post at a critical moment and hid himself within the wall of Derry, actually closing the gates against many who sought the same refuge. The town council having in consequence determined to offer terms of capitulation to James, who was slowly advancing to the city, the people were seized with a frenzy of rage, they rushed to the walls, pointed their guns and fired at the king and his advanced party approaching to take possession of the city.

A deputation was immediately sent to intimate this violence was not the act of the many, but of a few headstrong enthusiasts, but at the very instant the cries were universal for defence; governor, council, magistrates were alike disregarded, their authority in this moment of overwrought popular rage was annihilated. The garrison chose for themselves two new governors, Walker, and a Major Baker, that if either should fall they should not be left without command. By their direction they were formed into eight regiments, amounting to seven thousand and twenty men, three hundred and forty one officers. The first ebullition of popular feeling was far too violent to continue; it sunk not however into debility, but into composure and calmness. The timid were permitted to depart unmolested. The base minded Lundy was suffered to escape by the connivance of the new governors, who were glad to be rid of him. Every thing to prepare against the siege was regulated with judgment and precision, quietly and without parade. Eighteen clergymen of the established church and seven non-conformist teachers cheerfully shared the labours and dangers of the siege, and every day in their turns collected the people in the cathedral church, and by the fervour of their devotions and those strains of

eloquence inspired by circumstances so awful, breathed forth with an unction which such circumstances perhaps alone could produce, animated and encouraged their hearers. Imagination pictures a crowded congregation collected together by one commanding and noble motive, forming a grand connecting link of sympathy. That motive elevating the most insignificant to the level of the most powerful, and forming that equality of mental force which acknowledges no station, requiring only the freeborn soul for its sanctuary. Such a congregation, under such circumstances, prostrate before the Great Disposer of events, imploring in the expressive forms of our excellent liturgy his present aid, his future help to make his just cause triumph, and to impart grace that it may be received with humility and enjoyed with moderation; that he would open the eyes of the blinded and recall the erring to the right way; that he would give strength to the weak, stability to the wavering, and power to all: this presents a picture to the imagination well worthy the hand of genius to embody, at the same time it exemplifies the source of that persevering fortitude which enabled a garrison, in a town weakly fortified and miserably supplied, encumbered with thirty thousand fugitives, who could give them no assistance, and assailed by twenty thousand besiegers, to withstand every physical evil, at the recital of which the very soul recoils, during a siege of one hundred and five days. At the conclusion of this period the town was relieved and the enemy retired. "But," says the plain unstudied Walker in his Diary, "the resolution and courage of our people, the necessity we were under, and the great confidence and dependence among us on Almighty God that he would take care of us and preserve us, made us overlook all those difficulties."

The cause of James was equally unsuccessful in various places; at Enniskillen, about two thousand of his troops fell by the weapons of an enemy transported with resentment and zeal; five hundred plunged in a lake to avoid their fury; the same number were made prisoners, and with these their general. While the armies of James were so unsuccessful in the north he returned to Dublin and assembled a parliament. In the upper house were a number of new popish lords, as well as several whose outlawries had been reversed; this gave a preponderance to their party, which could not be balanced by four or five protestant lords still remaining in the kingdom, and three prelates summoned by writ to form a part of the assembly. The commons were it might be said entirely composed of men named by Tyrconnel, returned from such counties as were subject to his power or otherwise influenced. The university returned two protestant members, to whom we may add four more from other places. The opening speech was fair in profession, declaring the intention of James to make no other test or distinction but that of loyalty, that he was ready in all things to meet the wishes of the nation "as far forth as might be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good." A bill was brought in containing a recognition of the king's title, and an abhorrence of the Prince of Orange and his usurpation. But whatever might have been the conciliating and liberal sentiments and intentions of James, he was placed in a situation very unfavourable, if not entirely contrary to their accomplishment. Completely enslaved by different factions, he was incapable of any act of free agency; depending upon France, he was servilely attentive not to offend D'Avaux, who evidently took the lead in his councils. The Irish were dis-

contented to find all promotions in the army given to Frenchmen; they were indeed consoled by their ascendancy in the senate, and resolved to avail themselves of it by providing for their own interests with little apparent concern respecting those of the king.

Instead of providing relief for the sufferers by the long contested acts of settlement, the commons with an indecent and tumultuous shout of joy received a bill for a repeal of these acts. In the lords however the protestant Bishop of Meath argued against it, both on the principle of justice and sound policy, and this we are assured by the direction of James; but in vain. It was not only the favourite object of the Irish, but warmly recommended by D'Avaux, and their united power was not to be resisted. In a preamble to this bill was a clause whereby the real estates of all those who dwelt in any of the three kingdoms, and did not acknowledge King James's power, or who aided or corresponded with those who had rebelled against him, were declared to be forfeited and vested in him. This parliament was not however contented with recovering their estates and expelling the protestant proprietors: a proscription worthy of the haughtiest periods of Romish despotism was enacted. An act was passed by which a number of persons in the service of the Prince of Orange, those who had retired from the kingdom, and did not return in obedience to the king's proclamation, numbers who were resident in Britain, and therefore adhered to the new government, were all attainted of high treason, and adjudged to suffer the penalties of death and forfeiture unless they surrendered within certain assigned periods. Even the estates of those who were detained abroad by sickness, nonage, or other involuntary detention were to be

seized by the king, not to be restored till the claimants could prove their own innocence. Two thousand four hundred and sixty-one persons of all orders and conditions were included in this dreadful proscription; their names were hastily collected, and the sentence which condemned so many to difficulty and want was treated with so much ease and levity, that when Nagle, the attorney-general presented the bill to James, he carelessly observed, "many were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame." It was so framed as to preclude the king from all power of pardoning after the 1st day of November 1689; but the injustice of this transaction did not end here.

A statute so important as affecting the properties and lives of so many was carefully concealed from them, being suffered to remain unknown in the hands of the chancellor. At length, when four months had elapsed from the day limited for pardoning, Sir Thomas Southwell obtained a view of this fatal act for the instruction of his lawyer, who was to draw out a warrant for his pardon, promised by James. Nagle was surprised and enraged at this discovery; he insisted, after a course of base evasions, that the king was merely a trustee for the forfeitures, and had now no power of pardoning Southwell. All indeed that was in the power of the enslaved James was to reproach Nagle for having framed an act intrenching on his prerogative. Among other acts of this assembly was one for liberty of conscience, another took away the provisions formerly made for ministers in towns corporate, and one for entitling the Roman clergy to all tithes and ecclesiastical dues payable by those of their own communion. In one point James would not concur, viz. to establish inns of court in Ireland for the

education of law students, a point long and ardently pursued by the Irish catholics. The arbitrary disposition of the monarch was proved not to have been abated by his reverses of fortune in regard to the supplying his necessities from his people, several unpopular measures for this purpose met even the disapprobation of his council; but he resented their interference, retorting upon them their own sentiment, that it was a branch of his prerogative to levy money. "If I cannot do this," he remarked with asperity, "I can do nothing." One mode he took which rendered him justly unpopular: he established a mint in Dublin and Limerick, from whence was issued a coin in the last degree base, it was obtruded on protestants with many circumstances of insolence and cruelty. This evil was, however, only one among very many they had to endure, during the melancholy period in which the Romish party were predominant. To all the distresses of war and disorder was added the wanton insolence of their restless adversaries.

James meanwhile, in the midst of this unpopularity, public disorder, the opposition he already experienced, and the dangers which seemed to be enclosing him, still resigned himself to the influence of the Romish clergy, and entered zealously into all their plans for the extension of their faith. A protestant school erected by the Duke of Ormond at Kilkenny, was by a new charter converted into a popish seminary. Not deterred by the consequences of his attempts on the English universities, James in a very few months after his arrival in Ireland, ordered a mandamus to be presented to the governor of the University in favour of the individual Green, who had been disappointed of his imaginary professorship. He was now destined to fill the office of senior fellow of Trinity

College, the governors undauntedly refused obedience to the mandamus, and that at a time when their society had shared largely in the general calamities, when no rents could be received, when their pension from the exchequer was withheld, when their daily food was even purchased by the proceeds of their remaining plate, when the terrors of royal vengeance were denounced against them, and James and his forces were ready at hand to execute his threats. They pleaded their own cause before the attorney general, urging the incapacity of Green, aud the false allegations of his petition. But, they added, "there are much more important reasons, drawn as well from the statutes relating to religion, as from the obligation of the oaths we have taken, and the interests of our religion (which we will never desert) that render it wholly impossible for us without violating our consciences to have any concurrence, or to be in any way concerned in the admission of him." How shall we reconcile the subsequent facts with the assurances of James, that he was ready to grant and to meet the wishes of his subjects in every point "as far forth as might be consistent with reason, justice and the public good." This prince prided himself on the sincerity of his character, did his promises then mean nothing, or were they to be dispensed with according to circumstances without imputation of his sincerity and probity? The issue of the contest between him and the University was at once speedy and decisive. In a few days both fellows and scholars were forcibly ejected from their learned retreat, by the soldiers of a prince who had promised not only to defend, but to augment their privileges. The private property of particular members, the communion plate, library, and furniture of the community were seized, their chapel desecrated to a magazine, and their

chambers converted into prisons. The personal liberty of the members was obtained only by the earnest intercession of the Bishop of Meath, and this on the express condition that three of them should not meet together on pain of death. Father Petre, the spiritual guide of the infatuated king, is said to have possessed him with the design of conferring this college on the Jesuits. After having the pain of relating this instance of cruel injustice, and senseless impolicy, we are pleased to be able to add that an individual named Moor, a popish ecclesiastic, was nominated provost, a man possessing liberal sentiments, and superior literary taste, who, with the assistance of another individual of his own order preserved the library, books, and manuscripts from the Vandal ravages of a bigoted and barbarous army.

The state of the protestant clergy, as might well be expected, was at this time deplorable, for they were for the most part deprived of subsistence. They were unable to recover dues from non-conformists, as these were by the recent act for liberty of conscience, exempted from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. Neither could they demand tithes from the numerous body of Roman Catholics, the proportion of whom in the population was at least fifteen to one of protestants, while popish incumbents who every day multiplied by the death, cession, or absence of protestants exacted them from all parties. Yet such is the tendency of persecution to attach men strongly to their principles, that both clergy and laity felt an increase of fervour in their devotion, and crowded to their places of worship as if to prove that the operations of the mind cannot be influenced by violence and force, and that the soul rejects the chains which would place its freedom in bondage.

Much offence and some alarm was created in

the popish government by these meetings. A proclamation was issued confining protestants to their respective parishes. This was in effect depriving numbers of the benefits of public worship altogether, as in various parts two parishes or more had but one church. Still these measures oppressive and arbitrary as they were, met not the spirit of opposing zeal which was followed up as a merit by the popish clergy. Aided by magistrates of their own persuasion, they levied churches for their own use not in the country only, but the capital. The Protestants thus painfully deprived altogether of their privileges dared to remonstrate with the king on measures so very inconsistent with his professions of protection. He acknowledged his promises of protecting them, and published a proclamation against these outrages. But the clergy and their votaries were too well aware of the strength of their cause, and the advantages which the bigotry of James had yielded to them, to pay any attention to his authority when it demanded a concession repugnant to the interests of the faith. They disdained obedience to the proclamation, and hence a contest now arose between them and the king, who had the mortification to find himself foiled and defeated upon the ground of his own principles and arguments. Totally renouncing his authority in ecclesiastical affairs, they retained the churches with a contemptuous disregard to his repeated orders to give them up. By some his order of restitution was evaded by representing the church demanded for the Protestants as a place of strength, and therefore highly improper to be yielded to their custody. Christ church in Dublin for instance was seized, and could not be restored because arms it was said were concealed in it.

Whatever mortification and resentment James

might experience from these individual acts of clerical contempt and renunciation of power and authority, it appeared to cause no change of sentiments in him, he probably thought they were fully justified in thus acting according to their conscience. He still resigned himself as abjectly to the will and guidance of his clergy, apparently only solicitous to employ his short-lived power in Ireland, in making it what he termed a Catholic kingdom.

In consistency with these views and principles an order was issued in the name of his governor of Dublin, that no more than five Protestants should meet together, even in churches on pain of death. For this senseless and bigoted severity an alarm of an invasion was pleaded. Perhaps it would be difficult to cite a more lively illustration of the contracting influence of superstition and bigotry on the mind than James presented at this time, when he thought himself meritoriously and worthily employed in filling the diocese of Meath with popish incumbents, and erecting a Benedictine nunnery in Dublin, and that at the very moment when the formidable powers of his enemies were fast gathering around him, and the destinies of a nation were depending under Heaven on the vigour of his conduct, and the exercise of those energies with which nature had endowed him. An administration at once so contemptible, tyrannical and oppressive, which produced so much discord and so much trouble to unhappy Ireland, was greatly owing to, and protracted by the duration of the factions in England, and those embarrassments and distresses experienced by William upon his elevation. He was ill treated by his parliament, for they tore his laurels from his brows, and placed them on their own. They made him account for all the money they granted him, like a steward; they even forced

him to send away his favourite Dutch troops, although he condescended to petition the commons that he might retain them. He was surrounded with secret as well as avowed enemies, and the nation which he had liberated was full of discontents. War with his mortal foe Louis was declared. Insurrection was brooding in Scotland.

Amidst these complicated dangers, and the judicious management which these contending parties required, it was impossible that William could proceed in the service of Ireland with that vigour which was absolutely necessary to effect any good end.

William had scarcely found himself seated on the throne which had been offered him, when the parties which had united in his favour resumed their original bias, and he found himself at the head of a faction as the avowed friend of the presbyterians, consequently hostile to the established church. Several attempts in favour of dissenters excited the prejudices of the churchmen against him, his tolerant principles not being agreeable to them. Even the papists enjoyed the benefit of his moderation in religious matters. He firmly rejected the proposals of some zealots who exhorted him to enact some severe laws against them. During these political disputes and party divisions, the neglect of Ireland was a subject of popular complaint. The Protestants there sinking under the oppression and tyranny of their insulting foe, had made repeated application for relief, and James had already been six months in Ireland ere the circumstances of affairs in England allowed any effective measures to be taken. At length a considerable force was sent under the command of Duke Schomberg, who unaware of political expediency and cabinet intrigue, was with the natural ardour of bravery impatient of

the delay, and at length with part of his forces landed in the bay of Carrickfergus. It appeared as if that delay deprived the forces of James of all energy, for they might with ease have frustrated the landing of the English, instead of which they retired to Carrickfergus and there made a stand. Schomberg having refreshed his troops, proceeded and invested the place, which was so peculiarly fortified by nature and art that if well defended it might have checked the progress of Schomberg. On the first approach of the besiegers, however, the garrison condescended to parley, demanding liberty to send for succours or for licence to surrender. Their demands were scornfully rejected, and the siege proceeded in form.

Such was the revengeful spirit which the insults of the papists had generally excited, that when after hostilities of some days, Schomberg allowed the garrison to march to the next Irish garrison with their arms and some baggage, the Ulster Scots were so indignant at the indulgence, and such was the virulence against every thing popish, that regardless of the articles, they fell furiously upon the garrison, and having disarmed them, would have murdered the unfortunate wretches, had it not been for the vigorous interposition of the general. In proceeding on his march through a desolated country, Schomberg found that the popish inhabitants had fled precipitately before him with their cattle and effects, and had set fire to several places. Schomberg by a trumpet threatened to give no quarter should the enemy continue these barbarities. They abandoned Dundalk without injury, and thither the English advanced. So exalted an idea was formed of Schomberg's military genius by the officers of James, that they appeared panic-struck at the thought of engaging him, and they even deliberated whether it might not be advisable to retire from

their present situation at Drogheda, and also from Dublin. Tyrconnel, however, succeeded in dissuading them from such a dastard resolution. Hastening with his troops to Drogheda, it was resolved to maintain their present position. In the meantime the distresses of Schomberg's army were very great, unused to the nature of the country, wasted by fatiguing marches through bogs and over mountains, in rain and tempest, in cold and hunger, dispirited by the aspect of a desolated country, which the inclemency of the season rendered still more dreary, they sunk under the pressure of privation and sickness, giving full employment to detached parties to collect them and convey them languishing to the camp. Under these distressing circumstances, Schomberg deemed it highly imprudent to advance further.

When this circumstance became known to the army of James, it caused the greatest elation. Marshal Rosen when he found Schomberg had halted, at once pronounced that he must be in want of something, and immediately ventured his forces near Dundalk. The duke fortified his camp, determined not to be forced to an action under circumstances so disadvantageous; for his soldiers were now enduring almost every physical evil. While he was vigilantly and humanely engaged in every way in relieving and mitigating the sufferings of his soldiers, the enemy advanced, and even the whole army was drawn out, headed by James, displaying the royal standard, but Schomberg insisted that they had no intention of fighting. At length they made such dispositions as seemed to indicate an intention of storming the camp, and Schomberg ordered his foot to stand to their arms and his cavalry to return from foraging. Most joyfully these orders were received by troops anxiously solicitous to be relieved from their

present suspense and distress, even the sick and languid seized their muskets in full confidence of victory; but at the moment when their ardour was thus excited, James drew off his forces. Even his own army were filled with astonishment and vexation at this unexpected retreat, for as it was an enterprise of trifling danger they could impute the irresolution of James to no other cause than his tenderness for his English subjects. Rosen exclaimed in a tone of half reproach and mortification, "If your majesty had ten kingdoms you would lose them." The English on the other hand suspected that the manœuvre had been intended only to countenance a conspiracy formed by some French papists to betray the camp; and in fact on the following day the design was discovered; the principal accomplices executed, and a number of popish soldiers disarmed and sent to Holland.

In the mean time Schomberg experienced all the evils of the injudicious position he had chosen at Dundalk. Encamped on low and moist ground, with the mountains of Newry to the east, the town and river to the south, and hills and bogs to the north, the distresses of his army every day increased, dysentry and raging fever resisted every effort to subdue them, and daily carried off numbers. Several of the most distinguished caught the infection, languished and and expired. Discontent quickly followed suffering and disease, Schomberg was unjustly accused of indifference towards his troops, while to the decay of his faculties from age were attributed the protraction of the war and his caution in not leading them against an enemy whom his men were persuaded they should defeat. He directed them to erect huts for shelter, but with that listless despondency produced by disease, which forms its most afflicting feature,

they slighted the order, as well as every other expedient for a relief, superstitiously conceiving they were fated to destruction.

In this enervated state of mind they sought for instances calculated not to rouse it from the morbid feeling, but still further to weaken and depress it. The calamities of former years which had distinguished Dundalk were recounted, they eagerly listened to details of meteors hovering over the very place on which they lay, of spirits and groans heard in the air, the sure portents of great calamities. The contracting influence of physical suffering which concentres the feelings of the soul in itself soon became apparent, depriving these miserable wretches of human sensibilities. Habituated to continual spectacles of misery, their companions died unnoticed, the survivors even in horrid apathy used their cold bodies for seats, and when they were removed for interment, fretfully murmured at being deprived of a convenience! To these complicated miseries were added the insults of their enemies, who encamped on more elevated and firmer ground, were yet not exempted from a portion of similar suffering; they imputed it to the judgment of heaven that the heretical army was overwhelmed with rains, while they themselves enjoyed a cloudless sky; but this boasted exemption did not long continue, their calamities in the end became equally grievous and their numbers daily reduced. As a proof how the intemperate religious zeal which reigned with equal force in the bosom of the hostile armies extended itself to matters in themselves of perfect indifference, we need but mention that when this wasted and suffering army heard the enemy was at hand, even the faintest and the most diseased attempted to sieze their arms, and uttered in a tone of confidence, "The papists shall now pay

for our being so long detained in such dismal quarters." Luckily however the alarm proved false, and both armies retired to winter quarters.

The bad success of this campaign, from which so much had been expected, produced the greatest discontents in England, and William, perplexed and distracted between factions which he equally feared and found unmanageable, determined to quit them for a time, and to prosecute the Irish war in person. The first report of this design inspirited the English army in Ulster. About half of the forces Schomberg had brought with him yet survived the ravages of disease and privation, and the comforts and ease of winter quarters had greatly restored their vigour. Several petty successes had further elevated them, and every preparation was made to open the campaign with effect. Nor was James less assiduous, and had his policy and judgment been equally well directed the result might have been far different to him. It must be admitted that he betrayed a great deficiency of both by accepting five thousand French troops under the conduct of Count Saurin, and in their place an equal number of Irish were transported to France. The unfortunate James had soon the mortification to find his new auxiliaries both refractory and disobedient, they knew and acknowledged no superior but Saurin, who attended to the pleasure and interest of his troops, not that of the monarch, whom he came to serve, and considering himself as in an enemy's country lived at free quarter.

It is no part of our plan to enter into the detail of subsequent events which closed the royal authority of James in Ireland, those events are universally and well known to have offered in the conduct of William as the great actor in them a striking contrast to the supineness, the irresolu-

tion, and timidity of James, feelings which perhaps were produced by the latent consciousness of how justly he had aroused the resentments of his people, a consciousness which ever enervates those energies which are necessary to meet the consequences of misguided folly. For a moment indeed he displayed a spirit consistent with his birth and with the importance of the cause he was to maintain, but French counsel prevailed, and his vaunted determination to maintain his post ended in a secret preparation for flight from a contest in which he should have shed his blood.

Without surrendering a moment to delay, William immediately on his arrival reviewed his army. The Irish army fell back to the south of the Boyne at the approach of their opposers, who in high health, spirits, and commanded by their sovereign, seemed confident of victory. The famous battle of the Boyne began at six in the morning. The forces of James acquitted themselves well, but were at last defeated with the loss of 1500 men. The protestants lost but one-third of that number, but among them were several to be greatly regretted. Of these was the venerable and gallant Schomberg, a man equally admirable for his military talents and his intellectual and moral excellences, a protestant by principle, his deportment was marked by those graces of the Christian character, courtesy and humility; his mind was cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious, and his probity was equal to his courage. He had attained the advanced age of eighty-two years when he received the wound which deprived him of life. The gallant Walker, he who had defended Londonderry, fell in this memorable action: he had been graciously received by William, and an acknowledgement of five thousand pounds was granted for his services. William shared in all the dangers and fatigues of

this decisive action, animating his troops by his presence and encouraging coolness. James stood aloof during the engagement on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded by some squadrons of horse, and at intervals was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own troops repulsing those of the enemy, "O spare my English subjects." Amidst our contempt for the imprudent James at this period, we feel a sentiment of pity, when doubtless the fluctuation of ideas brought back to his mind the due bounds of justice and power. The spirit of party slumbered for a moment, and he saw things in a proper light. He was now plunged into that frightful state of remorse which follows the commission of error, when the circumstances which had caused it, were changed, or rendered, by the mutability of events of less commanding force on the soul. Hence doubtless his pathetic ejaculation to "spare his English subjects," from a consciousness that they were sacrificed to his despotic conduct. Seeing that victory had declared against him, he retired to Dublin, and so completely was his mind overwhelmed, that he made not a single effort to reassemble his broken forces. Had he possessed either spirit or conduct his army might have been rallied and reinforced from his garrisons, so as to have kept the field, and even to have acted on the offensive; but while his troops were yet fighting, he quitted his station, and leaving orders to guard the pass at Duleek, repaired to Dublin. He advised the magistrates of that city to make the best terms they could with the victors, and set out for Waterford, where all things being in readiness, he sailed for France. When he first deserted his troops at the Boyne, O'Regan, an old Irish captain, was heard to say, "That if the English would exchange generals the conquered army would fight them over again."

It had been deliberated at Dublin, whether if the enemy prevailed it would be adviseable to fire the city, but James charged the magistrates on their allegiance to commit no such outrage, which might reflect dishonour on him and irritate the conqueror. He was obliged, he said, to submit to force, but would never cease to labour for their deliverance; too much blood had been already shed, and Providence seemed to declare against him; he advised them therefore to submit to the prince, who was merciful. Nor did the peculiar pressure of William's circumstances enable him to follow up, as he otherwise might, his advantages, for expecting every day an invasion of England, and of course being required in that kingdom, he could not venture to divide his army, or remove it from the coast.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Friends of James determine to prosecute hostilities—Dublin threatened with the evils of anarchy—Spirited and judicious conduct of Fitzgerald—William enters the city—Thanksgivings for his victory—He returns to his camp—Protestant clergy attend him with an address—Causes rendering the government of William unpopular—Oppressive spirit of the English—Irish resolve to prosecute the war—Wretched state of the country—Civil transactions—Rapparees—Decision of the people to trust their cause to the sword—The opposing armies—Conduct of St. Ruth—Enthusiasm excited—The desperate battle—Death of St. Ruth—The Irish defeated—General Ginckle suffers many to retire to Limerick—Irish make a brave defence—Terms of capitulation exorbitant—Siege continued—Ginckle offers liberal terms—Articles signed—Kingdom submits to the English government—Ginckle created Earl of Athlone—Prejudices yet rankle—Causes of discontent and distress—William's interest in foreign concerns produces neglect of home policy—Disputes between him and his parliaments—Perplexed and harassed by opposite parties—Neglect of Ireland—Lord Sydney's severe rule—Abuses in disposing of the forfeited estates, and other causes of complaint—The king entreated to redress them—Promises given, but no steps taken—Party spirit violent—Irish papists oppressed under Lord Capel—Interest formed against him—William Molineux publishes a treatise to prove Ireland entirely independent—Address to his majesty—Its contents—King promises attention—Irish forfeitures a great cause of contention—Commissioners appointed—Proceedings of parliament respecting them—Chagrin of the king—Death of James II.—War in consequence of the violation of the treaty of Ryswich—Preparations of William for a brilliant campaign—His death—Accession of Anne—General review of religion and literature.

A. D. 1690.

As the battle of the Boyne was by no means a decided one, the friends of James determined to

prosecute hostilities, although it does not appear that he gave any instruction to his officers for that purpose. Yet, although he had renounced the assistance of the Irish, the interests of their religion were so involved in his cause, that they could not at present be separated, nor had they any hopes of recovering the lands of their ancestors or securing those they possessed, but by contending against the new government.

The indignation of the army was violent against James, both on account of the reflections he had cast upon them, and his desertion; they affected, however, to rejoice at the latter, as relieving them from a leader who had neither spirit for enterprise nor real concern for their interests. Dublin was once more threatened with all the well known evils of anarchy.*

The civil officers of James had already fled, and no detachment had yet been sent by William to secure the city. The protestant prisoners were set at liberty, they were fired with animosity against their prosecutors, with equal intemperance breathed

* Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, province of Leinster, county Dublin, seated at the bottom of a large and beautiful bay, the river Liffey divides the city into two equal parts. It is a place of great antiquity, and is now a most beautiful city, surrounded with interesting and delightful scenery. It has had a variety of names; its present one is from Dub-leana, or the "Lake of the Sea." In 448 Alpin Mac Earchard, king of Dublin, and all his subjects were converted to Christianity by St. Patrick. The civil government of the city was anciently under the management of a provost and bailiffs. In 1409 the chief magistrate was changed to that of mayor, and those of bailiffs to sheriffs. Charles the Second granted the title of lord mayor and 500*l.* per annum in 1665; Sir Daniel Bellingham was the first lord mayor. In 1672 Arthur Earl of Essex introduced new rules for the better government of the city; and in 1683 the Tholsel was built for the purpose of the magistrates meeting to hold their courts, assemblies, &c.

revenge against them, ready to avail themselves of the remotest plea for gratifying it. With these sentiments of revengeful zeal they assembled in groups and held their consultations, which resulted in the determination to force the houses of the papists and to rifle them. From this lawless and desperate measure they were however deterred by a military officer, who had been liberated from confinement, and who fortunately possessed those rarely combined qualities of insinuation, activity, firmness of purpose, and decision of will and action which have such a commanding influence over the popular opinion. He suddenly appeared among the irritated and revengeful people and dissuaded them from a purpose which must have plunged the city into the extremity of distress. With the assistance of some clergy and principal gentry, he assumed the government of the city pro tempore, gained the keys of the castle, persuaded the main guard, composed of about thirty popish militia, to lay down their arms, put them in the hands of protestants, and despatched expresses to William's camp to request immediate aid. All this was accomplished with a celerity which left the discontented no leisure to inquire how and by what authority the change was effected, while the active and intelligent Fitzgerald continued his judicious precautions to preserve peace, leaving no spot exempted from his vigilance. Alarms were raised at every moment; it was whispered that the enemy had returned in strength; the suburbs were fired; Fitzgerald flew to extinguish the flames. In the mean time the populace, excited to frenzy, were still impatient for plunder, and broke into some habitations. Again the indefatigable Fitzgerald rushed amongst them, at the hazard of his life, and by persuasion, by menaces, by violence restrained them from ex-

tremities. A force was now sent to his assistance, attended by the Duke of Ormond; William in the mean time continued to advance, and encamped at Finglass, a village near the capital; from thence he entered the city and immediately repaired to the cathedral of St. Patrick to return thanks for his victory. The solemn thanksgiving concluded, he returned immediately to his camp: it was here that the protestant clergy attended him with an address, congratulating him on his arrival, praying for his success, and expressing their loyalty; they concluded by entreating him not to think unfavourably of them for continuing in Ireland, and submitting to a power they could not resist, and by which continuance they had been enabled to serve both the church and his majesty. He answered in his usual cold and moderate manner, that he came to free them from popish tyranny, and doubted not by divine assistance to complete his design; permitting them to appoint a day of public and solemn thanksgiving, and to compose a form of prayer for the occasion. But this fair augury of peace and tranquillity was clouded by some injudicious measures, which forcibly illustrate the mischiefs resulting from mingling secular interests with religious differences, the one adding asperity to the other, interposing selfish advantages to the conciliating spirit which should ever accompany the other principle.

Among the causes which rendered the government of William unpopular were, his commands that all present tenants of protestant subjects were to pay their rents to their respective landlords, and that the tenants of those who were concerned in rebellion should detain their rents until the commissioners of his revenue should decide to whom they were to be paid. As to the leaders of the rebellion, he declared his resolution to leave

them to the event of war. A pardon thus limited, and so expressly indicating to those who had engaged in the cause of James that they had no alternative, but that of obstinately continuing the contest, is with justice imputed to the influence of those English who were impatient for the forfeitures. The commissioners, actuated by the same mercenary spirit, seized without mercy, and dreadfully harassed the country, while protections which had been granted to the peasantry were so shamefully violated that they crowded to their old leaders and took up arms for security.

Thus, when every thing seemed leading the way to peace, were the Irish urged by their characteristic jealousy of any invasion of their rights to renew the war with every passion exasperated and every principle in action which can render an enemy dangerous and desperate. The aspersions which James had thrown upon their national courage had fired them with the resolve to redeem it. Their religion they now saw on the point of being extinguished; the wreck of their property seized by strangers; no security from submission; no reliance on promises of pardon. Governed by their priests and elated by the successes of France, they determined to prosecute the war, and when Waterford was summoned by William the garrison demanded the enjoyment of their estates, the freedom of their religion, and liberty to march out with arms and baggage. The last article only was admitted, and the place surrendered to the determined foe. Having reduced this and several other places, William intended to leave the prosecution of the war to his generals, and to quit Ireland; but finding that the secret machinations of his enemies had been defeated, he resolved to remain some time longer. The war therefore continued with unabated violence, attended with

atrocities and distresses revolting to the imagination. The miserable inhabitants, of whatever party and denomination, fled from the outrages of the soldiery to their respective friends, but even then found no security. The contending armies were equally distressed, for unpaid and unprovided, they supplied their wants by ravage without distinction of parties, regard to protections or faith of promises. In short, unhappy Ireland was become the terrible scene of whatever can mark human debasement and human depravity.

To give some check to the hideous aggravations of war which desolated the country, the new lords justices laboured to give form to the civil government. The commission of forfeitures found so oppressive was superseded; lords lieutenants were appointed in the several counties, subject to the English power; commissions granted to the officers of the militia, who were armed in order to defend their properties, and a privy council constituted of such men as were esteemed most attached to the new government. With a particular, and perhaps a necessary severity, it was ordained, that papists of every county should be responsible for the ravages committed by those of their communion, and that where a number of Rapparees were collected, no popish priest should be suffered to reside. Some weak attempts were made to correct the disorders of the army, but with little effect, the officers treating the civil power with indifference; the soldiers acknowledged no superior but their officers, while the foreigners made no distinction, and the suffering people exclaimed that the army were worse than rapparees, although they acknowledged that the Dutch were an honourable exemption from this censure. Having named that class of individuals who were distinguished by

the title of Rapparees, we will explain the nature of the annoyance which was derived from them.

To aggravate the distresses we have named, as arising from a rapacious army, the country swarmed every where with those lawless banditti, who, unrestrained by any laws, lived in a state of savage nature. We have already alluded to them under the designation of *Creaghts*, as forming the army of Owen O'Nial, in the rebellion of 1641. At the conclusion of that war they were far from being suppressed, but plundering in every district they visited, roving for subsistence, were at once dreaded and detested by their countrymen, they continued their depredations during the reign of Charles II., and under the name of tories became an object of government attention. These lawless marauders were ready to seize any opportunity of public disorder, to extend their ravages, and multiply their numbers. At the period of our retrospect we now allude to, they readily obeyed the call of the priests, who at every mass exhorted all men to take arms, and stand prepared for war. Arming themselves with a weapon easily procured, namely a sort of half pike, they took their designation from the Irish name of their weapon, *rapparee*. Their weapons were carefully concealed, but ever ready for execution. They assembled in the dead of night in solitary places, projected their enterprises, rushed suddenly on their destined victims, vanished to their inaccessible retreats on the first appearance of opposition, and as readily collected. Many united with these lawless miscreants, some influenced by example, others urged by dire necessity. In summer, they hung about the English camp, killing every straggler they found, for the sake of his arms and clothing; and in the horrid rage of national hatred, frequently mangling the

body they stripped. Through the whole dreary season of the year, the English forces were every where harassed in pursuit of these banditti. The Irish soldiers were frequently permitted to join their troops, and to encourage and share their disorders; the English frequently found it necessary to repel them by another body of marauders of their own party, who were called protestant rapparees. Thus did the sacred distinctions of religion become the distinguishing appellations of freebooters and murderers.

We may imagine the conduct and the horrors of this war, when we recollect the character of the agents who were employed in its prosecution. Nothing but a general reduction of the kingdom could, it was evident, terminate those calamities which Ireland had experienced for ages with little interruption, which now appeared to have reached their maximum, and which were at once the cause and the effect of that restless, litigious, and complaining spirit, which forms so dark a shade in the moral portraiture of the Irish.

But unhappily it had ever been the private interest of officers of state, and the considerable English settlers in Ireland, that rebels should be exterminated rather than reconciled. Hence many obstacles were thrown in the way of conciliation, and a final decision of the war; thus was a nation's happiness, a nation's prosperity, nay, the very existence of the Irish as a people, sacrificed to private passions and isolated interests. On the part of the Irish, a determination of resistance was general, notwithstanding the repeated successes of the enemy. Those of them who inclined to the French interest, still sanguinely rested on that feeble reed. They who had bravely sustained the fury of battle, imputed their ill success to the weakness and inexperience

of their associates, entertaining hopes of future success from the lessons derived from experience. They who had weakly yielded in the hour of trial, stung with the reproaches of their stronger companions, impatiently desired to retrieve their honour. They who had espoused the cause of James from principle, who had fought for their country and their religion, and what they deemed their rightful property, reflected seriously and painfully on the fearful situation of their party. Aware of the real power of the English government, they entertained no hope of pardon, nothing remained to them but, by some desperate exertion of valour, to make a revolution in the state of affairs. "It is your fault," said their prisoners to the English officers, "that you have so many enemies; we are sensible of our unhappiness in depending on the French, but you have made it necessary for us; we must, and will, and are prepared to fight it out." What can more forcibly illustrate the desperate resolves of an oppressed people than this remark? Thus it was, that actuated each by his peculiar motives, the whole Irish party concurred in the determination of bringing their long protracted contest to the decision of the field.

The fate of Ireland now hung on the event of one desperate effort; whether the English power was at length to be unalterably established in the harassed country, or whether it was to be once more exposed to the dreadful calamities of a protracted intestine war, depended on the event of a few days. The minds of all men were strained to the extremest tension of anxiety and expectation. General Ginckle, with eighteen thousand men, was now to attack an enemy amounting to twenty-five thousand most advantageously posted. St. Ruth, the general of James, from his com-

manding situation, had a full view of the English; he saw them prepare for battle, and drew out his main army in front of his camp; the sight was grand and imposing; he rode to every squadron and battalion, he reminded the Irish officers that their future fortune hung on the issue of one encounter; their honour, their liberty, their estates, were the great objects for which they were to fight; but what was far superior even to them, they were now to establish their holy religion on such a firm basis, as the powers of hell and heresy should never shake; that the dearest interests, and most honourable engagements of this life, and the ravishing prospects of eternal happiness, called for a vigorous exertion of that valour, which their enemies affected to deny that they possessed. The priests proceeded through the ranks, inspiring by every means the soldiers with the same sentiments, and we are even told, obliging them to swear on the holy sacrament, that they would not desert their colours. Urged by their personal sufferings and political discontents, these appeals easily roused their enthusiasm to the highest pitch, and with all the impatience of the national character, the Irish burned with ardour for the battle.

The engagement that ensued may well be imagined desperate; it continued in suspense during the whole of the day, when at a critical moment a cannon-ball deprived the gallant St. Ruth of life. His body was instantly conveyed away; but the intelligence of his death ran through the ranks; they became confounded and disordered, and as the order of battle had not been communicated to Sarsfield, on whom the command devolved, he could not support the dispositions of the deceased St. Ruth. The English pressed forward, drove the enemy from the camp, pur-

sued their advantage until the Irish, after an engagement supported with the fairest prospect of success, while they had a general to direct their valour, fled precipitately. In the battle, and a bloody pursuit of three miles, seven thousand of the Irish army were slain; the whole materiel of the army was taken, together with thirty-two colours, destined as a present to the queen.

Such was the victory of the English army; General Ginckle wisely considered that the season of action was quickly wasting, that the Irish war was a grievous embarrassment to the continental interests of William, and a dangerous encouragement to the disaffected in England, he therefore wished to terminate it at once, and suffered as many of the Irish as chose to retire to Limerick. In this last retreat the Irish made a brave defence. The winter approached, and Ginckle had made no decisive effect upon the place; at length a parley was beat, a cessation granted, and an amicable intercourse opened between the contending parties. As Ginckle had urgent instructions to terminate the war on any terms, he was ready to receive the proposals of capitulation. They were, however, so exorbitant, they could not be acceded to consistent with the laws of England, or the honour of the general; he therefore resolved to continue the siege. By a second deputation, he was desired to propose such terms on his part as he could grant. Every thing conspired to induce General Ginckle to renew the treaty. The Irish, it is true, had offered terms little consistent with their desperate situation; but General Ginckle, with a liberality and honour worthy of his profession and the responsibility he held, made his propositions as to men who claimed attention and indulgence, and such

as the Irish, had they even been victors, could hardly have refused with prudence. He agreed that all in arms should receive a pardon, that their estates should be restored, their attainders annulled, their outlawries reversed; that all Roman Catholics should enjoy the same toleration with regard to their religion as in the reign of Charles II., and that no oath should be required of any except that of allegiance; that should the troops, or any number of them, choose to retire into foreign service, they should be conveyed to the continent at the expense of the king.

Those Irish who had submitted on less liberal terms, were mortified at these large concessions, and by those protestants who lived in an habitual hatred and horror of the Irish, they were regarded with indignation, as well as by those who studied the extension and security of the English interests, or were impatient to enjoy the estates of their enemies. But the views, peculiar circumstances, and interests of William, rendered them necessary; nor ought we to doubt, that they were in part, at least, dictated by equity and humanity. "There was," says Dalrymple, "a simplicity, an elevation, and a utility in all the actions of William's life." It is fair, then, to believe, that higher principles than mere selfishness and policy actuated the prince on this occasion. William was conscious that the Irish had engaged in the present contest, upon principles honourable to man; they fought for a king of their own religion, by whom they naturally hoped to be restored to those advantages their ancestors had forfeited, or which, in the conflicts of parties, they had themselves lost.

On the first of October, the lords justices arrived in the camp; they signed the articles

together with General Ginckle, and thus a period was put to the war, which threatened the Romish party with utter ruin.

In consequence of this treaty, about fourteen thousand of those who had fought for King James passed over to France, having transports provided by government for conveying them thither. Thus all expectations which the exiled king might have formed from Ireland were frustrated, the kingdom submitting quietly to the English government. Yet were the hopes of James not entirely dispelled by the reduction, although the Highland chieftains, who favoured his cause, were also exterminated.

In the picture we have given of this final contest in Ireland, we have no records remaining that are sufficiently clear and minute to admit of an unmixed detail of ecclesiastical affairs.

The reduction of Ireland being thus effected, Baron Ginckle returned to England, where he received the thanks of the parliament for his eminent services, and was created Earl of Athlone by his majesty.* Notwithstanding these fair appearances, however, we shall find in pursuing our detail, that although the blood-stained sword was sheathed, the prejudices which had caused

* Athlone, a town of Westmeath, situated on both sides of the Shannon, both parts connected by a high raised and well built bridge, in the centre of which stands a monument, with figures cut in the marble, together with the arms of Queen Elizabeth, and some inscriptions, denoting the period of its foundation, and the founders. The castle was built by King John, on some land belonging to St. Peter's Abbey, for which he granted a compensation. It is built on elevated ground, a or high-raised mound, resembling a Danish rath or fort. Formerly there were two convents or monasteries. This town gives the title of earl to the family of Ginckle, in commemoration of the eminent services rendered by the general of that name in 1691.

it to be drawn were still the same; and that things seen through this distorted medium were ever found sufficient to produce animosity, jealousy, and dispute. The credulity of some, the rashness of others, the violence of passion, and incidental circumstances, all combined to magnify evils, and to apologize for opposition. The English and the Irish differed so much in their early associations, in their religious opinions, in their customs, and even in their temperament, that they appeared as if they never could arrive at any point of agreement. All these causes of disunion were augmented and heightened by the contracting spirit of bigotry, which can only be dispelled by diffusing the light of knowledge, and the introduction, by early instruction, of that pure faith, which has such a tendency to enlarge the mind, and to free it from the bondage of mere speculation, and false intemperate zeal.

Other causes of discontent and distress also still existed. These were the various restrictions laid upon the Irish trade, and the invariable preference given by government to the manufactures of England. On the part of England, it was supposed that as Ireland had been subdued by force of arms, the inhabitants ought in every respect to be regarded as a subject state, and of course that the English interest in reference to it, ought to be consulted and promoted without attention to the effect it might have on the dependent power. Hence have arisen various grievances, suspicions, and complaints against government. The Irish, jealous to excess of their rights, heated with their theological contests, and continually excited to mingle their religious opinions with their secular interests, regarded their relative situation with respect to England in a

very different view. They rejected all ideas of dependence upon the British ministry and parliament, and though they acknowledged William's right by conquest, they disclaimed all authority of the British parliament, and of course regarded the restrictions on their trade and other acts affecting them as grievous and intolerable oppressions. Unfortunately, in dealing with a people thus prejudiced, and thus lofty, the policy has ever been to suppress the murmurings of discontent, rather than to remove their causes, and having effected in any degree the former, the latter have been either neglected or forgotten. Hence do they brood in secret, continually acquiring fresh malignancy in the estimation of the sufferers, and exciting a combustible spirit, ready to catch the smallest spark directed by circumstances to inflame it. We have seen that William was at least in part urged by the pressure of his continental affairs to expedite the reduction of Ireland, indeed so great were his apprehensions for the balance of power, and the fluctuating interests of Europe, that they absorbed every other concern. His prevailing motive for accepting the English crown, was to engage the kingdom more deeply and effectually in this great object of his care and ambition, and in the prosecution of it, he became unmindful of the cultivation of the internal polity which keeps down faction, and softens party spirit. He formed alliances abroad, but neglected to observe the growing influence of party at home. Hence, gradually arose a disrespect of his authority, a laxity of political morals, a neglect of those pursuits which confer honour, and produce refinement, and the elevation of the unworthy to those distinctions which should be the meed of the upright patriot

alone. On accepting the crown, William had resolved to preserve as much of the prerogative as possible, and he asserted it in one point beyond the example of his predecessors, that of refusing his assent to some bills that had passed both houses. From this and other causes there were perpetual disputes between him and his parliaments. His whole heart and views bent upon his foreign conquests, William was led to sacrifice every thing for the means of enabling him to pursue them, provided the parliament supplied him with resources, he permitted them to rule the internal polity their own way. In fact, fatigued with opposition, he admitted every restraint upon the prerogative of England, did he but obtain the means of humbling the pride of France. The sums granted for this purpose were incredible. But when the general pacification took place, William experienced the evil of the parties he had suffered to gain ascendancy. Perplexed and harassed by their oppositions, presumptuous, and contending interests, he regarded his English seat of power as one of labour, disquietude and altercation, and he quitted it as often as he could to enjoy the pleasures of his Dutch palace of Loo. If thus unmindful of the factions formed in his immediate seat of government, William cannot be expected to have paid much attention to the affairs of Ireland, of which indeed the record is very scanty and unsatisfactory from this period. We find by the reports of the English parliament of 1692, that the discontents of the nation were inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where Lord Sidney was said to rule with severe and despotic authority. These complaints were officially communicated by several eminent persons who were examined at the bar of the house. Both

houses concurred in the inquiry of the allegations, and the result was, that great abuses had taken place in disposing of the forfeited estates (that never ending source of contention). That protections had been granted to the Irish, not included in the articles of Limerick, so that protestants were deprived of the benefit of the law against them, with various other grounds of complaint. The Commons in their address to the king upon this subject, were particularly free in explaining the abuses and mismanagement of the Irish government, by exposing the protestants to the free quarter and violence of a licentious army, by recruiting the troops with Irish papists, who had been in open rebellion, by granting protections to Irish Roman Catholics, whereby the course of the law was arrested, by reverting outlawries against treason, not comprehended in the articles of Limerick, by letting the forfeited estates at an under value, &c. These abuses his majesty was humbly entreated to redress, as they greatly encouraged the papists, and injured the protestant interest in Ireland. Promises of particular attention to these remonstrances were given, but no material step was taken to remedy the evils complained of. The Lords Sidney,. Athlone, and Coningsby, who appeared to have possessed great part of the forfeitures by grants from the crown, and another individual who had been guilty of great acts of oppression, continued in the enjoyment of their property, and were not called to any account respecting their abuse of power.

Thus the spirit of party early manifested itself, for Sidney although possessing a character so opposite to William, was yet a favourite, and the stream of honour, preferment and favour, was evidently on the side of the whigs or the court party. Ireland partook of the same party spirit, and was

infected with the same factions, of course the results were nearly similar, or only modified by national peculiarities. During the government of Lord Capel in 1695, the Irish papists it would appear were treated with much oppression, and with a great disregard of equity and moderation. In a parliament which he convened, the attainders and acts passed in the *pretended* parliament of king James were annulled, one was framed in order to prevent foreign education, also one for disarming papists, and one for settling the estates of intestates. The assuming power of the lord deputy excited the jealousy and resentment of the opposite party, and Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor attempted to court popularity by espousing the cause of the Irish against the severity of the administration. He succeeded in forming a kind of tory interest which thwarted Lord Capel in all his measures, and of course disturbed the administration, and created intrigues, jealousies, and secret resentments, with all their concomitant political evils. This spirit of opposition was manifested in various instances, and even the press was employed in aid of the principles which the immoderate exercise of power had called into action. William Mollineux, a gentleman of Dublin, published a work in order to prove that Ireland was totally independent of the English parliament. The latter indignant at this assumption, appointed a committee to inquire into the cause and nature of this literary performance, and bold assertion, and an address was voted to the king, that he would direct the means for the discovery and punishment of the author of a work so inflammatory. The commons in a body presented an address to his majesty accordingly, representing the dangerous attempts made by his subjects of Ireland, to throw off their subjection

and dependence upon England, attempts apparent not only from the pernicious assertions of the book recently submitted to their examination, but also more unequivocally and plainly by proceedings and votes in the Irish commons. His majesty was humbly besought to give effectual orders for preventing such encroachments for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what was past, by punishing those who had been guilty, and to discourage every thing which might have a tendency to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England. The king promised compliance. But it was the Irish forfeitures which still seemed to be the great cause of contention, and the English parliament made them a plea to gratify their spleen against the king, whom they appeared resolved to mortify, by prosecuting his ministers and calling in question their acts. These "anti-courtiers" believed they could not more effectually annoy, than by inquiring into the Irish forfeitures, which the king had distributed among his dependents. Seven commissioners were appointed to examine these particulars, four of these were animated with all the virulence of faction, the other three were secretly guided by ministerial influence. It was not likely therefore, that the subject would be dispassionately, moderately, or equitably considered. In fact, they proceeded with a severity which clearly manifested the bias of their minds, and indicated resentment to the court, rather than a love of justice, an abhorrence of corruption, or a sincere desire to arrive at the truth. The result of the whole was, that the commons of England came to the resolution, (presented to the king in the form of an address) that the procuring and passing those grants had occasioned great debts upon the nation, and heavy

taxes upon the people, as well as highly reflected upon the king's honour, and that the officers and instruments concerned in the same, had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty. The king replied to this disrespectful address that he was not only led by inclination, but urged by a sense of justice and duty to reward those who had served well in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion. The commons however, prepared, finished, and passed a bill of resumption. That justice might be done to purchasers and creditors in this act of resumption, thirteen trustees were empowered to hear and determine the claims relating to these estates, to sell them to the best purchasers, the proceeds to be appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. William was of course extremely chagrined at the bill which he considered as an invasion upon his prerogative, a personal insult and an injury to his friends and servants. He resolved at all hazards to prevent its passing into a law, but he was overruled in his purpose by the remonstrances and entreaties of those in whom he confided. These circumstances however increased his disgust at his situation, nor could he dissemble his resentment. His habitual reserve increased even to sullenness, his peevishness became morose; these peculiarities of temper were ascribed to his dislike of the English people, when in fact they arose from the perplexities, the aggravations, and the narrow-minded oppositions of party. This situation would soon have been intolerable to William, (who, however he delighted in the field of military warfare, possessed not the popular qualities which distinguish in that of politics,) had not an event occurred which gave a fair plea for engaging once more in the tumults of the former, and which

moreover rendered his parliament ready to assist in his engaging in a new continental war. This event was the decease of the exiled James, and the consequent violation of the peace of Ryswic by the French king's acknowledgement of the son under the title of James the third, king of Great Britain and Ireland. The parliament, much as they thwarted and opposed William, entered warmly into the indignity offered him by the French monarch, they passed a bill of attainder against the prince for assuming the title of king of England, and also a bill obliging all persons holding any office in church or state, to abjure his claim to the crown. William thus supported in his favourite scheme, was making vast preparations for opening a brilliant campaign, when a fall from his horse threw him into a fever, which put a period to his life, but by no means to the bold designs he had formed. The early declaration of Anne, that she was resolved to pursue the objects of the grand alliance, dissipated the hopes of the French, which the death of William had created, while they revived the spirits of the confederates, naturally depressed by that event.

We must now regard the political machine to be actuated by two noblemen connected by family interest as well as political views, Lord Godolphin being placed at the head of the treasury, and Marlborough being appointed commander in chief of the English forces, and ambassador extraordinary to the states. We have thus brought our retrospect to the close of the seventeenth century. The paucity of materials on the minutiæ of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland, has obliged us to combine with them those political changes which involved them, and ere we proceed in the mingled detail, we will once more review the general state

of religious and other parties, glance at the literature and its effects upon the manners and the morals of the people to the period which opens to us the events of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ecclesiastical polity—Convocation—Its nature—English constitution—Collision of parties subsequent to the Reformation—William favourable to the Nonconformists—Act of Toleration—Perplexities flowing from the endless diversity of sects—Schism in the church—Nonjurors—High church—Arminians and Quakers—Literature—Newton—Boyle, &c.—Wilkins—Royal Society—Polite literature—Causes of national debasement—Great influence of books.

We paused in our general retrospect at that period of anarchy and confusion, when the ecclesiastical constitution of England and Ireland was overthrown by the storms of faction, after having long been undermined by the insidious efforts of hypocrisy and fanaticism. On the restoration of Charles the second to the throne of his ancestors, the ecclesiastical establishment reverted to its former state. Its government revived, and episcopacy was reinstated in the seat from which it had been hurled. Since the reign of Henry the eighth, the kings of England were, we have seen, styled in all public acts the supreme heads of the church. The title, however, we are not to regard as conveying a spiritual supremacy, but only as denoting the regal power to prevent any ecclesiastical differences, or in other words, to substitute the king in place of the pope, before the reformation. With regard to temporalities and the internal economy of the church, the kings of England never intermeddle in ecclesiastical disputes, but are contented to give a sanction to

the legal rights of the clergy. The eclesiastical government of England being, properly speaking, lodged in the convocation, which is a national representation or synod, and answered nearly to that of a parliament. They were convoked at the same time with every parliament, and their business was to discuss upon, and consider the state of the church, to call those to account who advanced new opinions inconsistent with, or subversive of the doctrines of the church of England,

The powers of this convocation were, however, carried to such a height, that it was found at length inconsistent with the principles of religious toleration, and even encroached on civil liberty. The crown was necessitated to exert its prerogative of calling the members together, and dissolving them; and they have now long ceased to form a separate body for the purpose of business.

King, church, and people; lords, prelates, and commons, form the fabric of the British constitution: each have their peculiar duties, privileges, and rights; the invasion of any of which destroys the symmetry of the edifice, as well as undermines its foundation. Each have their rights sanctioned and established by law; and one violation of justice in regard to any, endangers the safety of the whole. Superficial and unreflecting indeed must be the mind which does not perceive, that when once the ideas of mankind are confounded on subjects which they have ever held sacred, venerable, or respectable; and when deficiency of principle, or a general carelessness respecting moral obligations and religious sanctions takes place, the invasion of rights naturally follows; and that not singly, but in a train of encroachments: and it is generally found, that those who committed the first violation, are as generally the first to experience the effects of

their own pernicious doctrines. These remarks were strongly exemplified in the collision of parties, which agitated the religious world subsequent to the reformation. On complicated questions, indeed, it cannot be expected that men will unite in opinion; the stronger minds—those most earnestly and sincerely engaged in the search of truth, and animated by a sincere principle of diffusing good, are yet prone to receive a bias, by thinking long in the same track; and, in the warmth of zeal, are too apt to depart from charity and meekness towards those who differ; nay, sometimes to reflect with asperity upon those, who with equal sincerity, may yet view the subject of difference in another light. Thus, amidst the complication of disputes in which men were involved, at the period we now review, we may observe, that the appellation of puritan alone indicated three parties, virulent against each other, from the shades of difference which distinguished them. There were the political puritans, who maintained the highest opinions of civil liberty; in fact, were pure republicans: the puritans in discipline, who opposed and abhorred the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church: and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers. The reformation had given great freedom of discussion on religious matters: men no longer restrained from unveiling the supposed errors of the church, boldly investigated the foundations of their faith; and the disciples of the various sects produced by this investigation, keenly censured and questioned the tenets of each other. Hence, numberless disputes agitated the minds of men, of no importance to the real religion; serving only to cloud its lustre, and injure its simplicity. The spirit of infidelity

kept pace with that of enthusiasm; and as the sectaries or nonconformists disputed respecting the unessential doctrines of scripture, they boldly denied, or insidiously undermined the authority, and called in question the credibility of the whole, by their sophistical arguments or daring assertions. Charles II. having revived episcopacy in England, extended the same alteration to Scotland and Ireland; and a law was enacted, by which all who refused to observe the rites, and subscribe to the doctrines of the church of England, were entirely excluded from her communion. From this period to the revolution, the non-conformists were in a precarious and fluctuating state; sometimes in calamity and great trouble; at others enjoying partial gleams of hope, according as the varying spirit of the court and the ministry directed affairs; but never entirely free from perplexity and fear.

But in 1689, their affairs took a favourable turn. William had a bias to Calvinism, and was, from principle, averse from persecution. He experienced much vexation and opposition from the church of England, which greatly alienated him from its interests. This resentment, concurring with his principles, determined him to remove the obstacles affixed to non-conformity, and to render all protestant dissenters capable of enjoying and exercising civil employments. He endeavoured to do away the sacramental test, as necessary to render them competent to places of trust and power; but could only effect the framing of an act for the toleration of all protestant dissenters, except Socinians; and thus relieved them from the penalties to which they had been subjected by the act of conformity, and other acts passed during the sway of the house of Stuart. This act of toleration was extended to Ireland and Scot-

land; the latter, being permitted thereby to follow the ecclesiastical discipline of Geneva, was freed from the jurisdiction of bishops, and from the peculiar forms of worship annexed to the episcopacy.

It is from this period, we must date the liberty and tranquillity of the dissenters from the church of England. We must however refer to the religious liberty at this time granted, the continual increase and multiplicity of religious sects and factions which have arisen, and still continue to arise, among the sectarian protestants; and the various perplexities, divisions, and controversies naturally flowing from that diversity.

In the reign of William, divisions among the friends of episcopacy ran so high, that they terminated in that memorable schism in the church of England, in which originated the terms high and low church. It was the strong desire, and favourite scheme of William, to comprehend all the protestants of his dominions in one union; but the measure was strongly opposed, as a step at once dangerous and inconsistent with the honour, duty, and welfare of the church. The agitation of this question was attended with great heat and acrimony; but the cause of schism in the church itself, was the scruple of conscience which deterred Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other prelates, equally distinguished for probity, learning, and piety, from taking the oath of allegiance to William. The ground of this refusal, was their opinion, that although James II. was banished from his dominions, he yet remained their rightful sovereign. The non-jurors, as they were termed, contended, that Christianity was a doctrine of the cross; that no pretence whatever could justify an insurrection against the sovereign; that the primitive Christians had been passive under every invasion

of their rights, affording a plain example to all men;. that non-resistance was the fundamental doctrine of the English church, confirmed by all the sanctions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party, on the contrary, not only supported the natural rights of man, and explained the use that might be made of the doctrine of non-resistance in exciting commotions; but they also argued, that if passive obedience was right in any instance, it was clearly so in regard to the existing government, the obedience required by scripture being indiscriminate. "The powers that be are ordained of God." "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." From these texts they inferred, that the new oaths ought to be taken; and that those who refused them, concealed party spirit under the cloak of conscience. The non-conformists retorted, that those opinions levelled all distinctions of duty and justice; that those who held such opinions, attached themselves solely to persuasion, not right; therefore, if there were a succession of usurpers, they, of course, in consistency with their principles, would recognise the last, however unjust might be the means which had been used in the acquirement of power. With these sentiments, they vilified the bishops who acknowledged William, as apostates and base temporisers. The conscientious scruples of the primate, and the seven bishops, being insurmountable, they were suspended from their sacred functions, and deprived of their sees, which were filled by other prelates of eminent character, but whose principles were not opposed to the existing government. The deposed bishops, and the clergy holding the same sentiments, formed a distinct episcopal church, differing in certain points of doctrine, and other circumstances

of public worship, from the regular established church. This community received the denomination of non-jurors, on account of their refusing the oaths of allegiance. They were also called the *high church*, on account of the high notions they entertained of the dignity and power of the church, and the extent they gave to its prerogatives and jurisdiction; assertions of power which had been naturally created by the gradually encroaching influence of the sectaries, which had induced the friends and supporters of the established church to rally their forces; nothing therefore could be more unfortunate than the division which this scruple of conscience produced, both as giving a plea to the enemies of the church to impugn its weakness and to deride its disunion, as well as actually decreasing and injuring its power and respectability. Those who had disapproved of this schism, who had distinguished themselves by their moderation towards the dissenters, or were less ardent in extending the limits of ecclesiastical authority were denominated low churchmen. The bishops who were deprived and those who espoused their cause openly maintained that the church was altogether independent on the jurisdiction of the king and parliament, subject to the authority of God alone, and fully empowered to govern itself by its own laws; consequently that the sentence against those prelates by the great council of the nation was destitute of justice and validity, as it was only by a decree of an ecclesiastical council that a bishop could be deposed. This lofty idea of the prerogatives and authority of the church produced bitter controversies too nice and intricate ever to arrive at conclusion. In conformity to the principles of the non-juring clergy, they considered the bishops, although deposed, rightful possessors of the dignity as long

as they lived, and those who occupied their sees as unjust possessors of ecclesiastical dignities, rebels against the state, as well as schismatics in the church. All who held communion were of course chargeable with rebellion and schism. They pronounced this schism which rent the church a most heinous sin, whose punishment must inevitably fall heavy upon all those who did not return sincerely to the bosom of the true church, from which they had departed.

Among those who thus incurred the anathemas of their brethren were Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, and Cumberland, whose names are associated with all we can conceive of solid worth, profound learning, and exalted piety, and who appear in history as fair pillars in the temple of the English church.

We are to consider the term high church as now of more extensive meaning than we have named as distinguishing this schism, as it is now applied to all those, who though far from being non-jurors or otherwise disaffected towards the present establishment, yet from high conceptions of the authority and jurisdiction of the church, would support its superiority of rank in the state.

During this century there also sprang from the bosom of the reformed church two sects, "whose birth and progress were for a long period painful as well as perplexing to the parent who bore them:" these were the Arminians and Quakers. Indeed the unbounded liberty which every individual in England enjoys in publishing without restraint his religious opinions and worshipping God in the manner dictated by his conscience, must necessarily produce a variety of sects and give rise to an uninterrupted succession of controversies about theological matters. Unfortu-

nately it is not in our power to direct the faculties of men without restraining them. Hence the fanaticism of any particular train of ideas has too often led to violent actions and an illiberal spirit, by becoming united with human interests, for rare indeed is it to meet with individuals who attach themselves by lively zeal to an opinion independently of the results it may produce upon their general interests.

The age of which we now treat was far from being so favourable to polite literature as to the sciences, for until the revolution the liberty of the press was very imperfectly enjoyed. Amidst the dense obscurations of bigotry and ignorance which marked so large a portion of this period, there were some brilliant stars, whose irradiations have been attended by a luminous train of intellectual light, illuminating even our present times; stars destined to maintain their high ascendant till the end of time. The name of Newton stands pre-eminent on this exalted list; in him we contemplate the greatest and the rarest genius that ever arose for the ornament and the instruction of the world. "While all the grandeur of other days is now mouldering into forgetfulness," says the energetic Chalmers, "the achievements of our great astronomer are still fresh in the remembrance of his countrymen, and they carry him forward in the stream of time with a reputation ever gathering and the triumphs of a distinction that will never die." And what has conferred upon him that high distinction among mankind? Not only the discoveries he made by unveiling the mysteries of nature, but his modesty and intellectual courage in rejecting every thing which he could not demonstrate, and which while he proceeded undauntedly in his march of intellect, more anxious to merit than to acquire fame, led him to ponder

every step, and as he passed through the rich and magnificent field of his discoveries, to suffer no glare of imagination or of prejudice to seduce him from his path. Let us learn a lesson of humility from this truly great man, who appears to us more indeed as a high intelligence to whom the mysteries of nature were unfolded. A short time before he quitted the world to which his spirit was so superior, he said, "I do not know what I may seem to the world, but as to myself I seem to be only like a boy playing on the sea shore, and diverting myself now and then finding a smoother pebble or prettier shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lies all undiscovered before me." Well may we say with the eminent author we have quoted, as we contemplate the moral portraiture of Newton, rendered attractive and holy by the purest sense of religion, "I cannot forbear to do honour to the unpretending greatness of Newton, than whom I know not if ever there lighted on the face of our world one in the character of whose admirable genius so much force and so much humility were more attractively blended." It would carry our digression too far to enumerate even the names of the men of superior genius who at this period drew on themselves and their several countries the regard and attention of the civilized world. Besides a Newton and a Boyle, England could boast the eminent mathematicians Wilkins, Wren, Wallis, the patient Hooke, and Sydenham, the restorer of true physical science.

Wilkins was a clergyman and had married Cromwell's sister; he was afterwards Bishop of Chester: with him a few congenial spirits established conferences for the mutual communication and improvement of their philosophical discoveries. Immediately after the restoration these intellec-

tual friends procured a patent from Charles, and augmenting their number, formed what is known by the denomination of the Royal Society. In regard to polite literature, although perhaps we may regard the period of the restoration as that when our language assumed much facility and clearness, as well as fluency and grace, from the study of the French literature, yet it is far from being justly termed the Augustan age of England, for though mere style was improved, yet the sentiments conveyed by the refined language partook far too largely of that great licentiousness which marked the morals of the times. In no period of the history of our country had so many causes combined to injure the national character. In the tumultuous struggles for power and the general anarchy, riotous intemperance marked the habits of the men, who frequently became the victims of ambition and the tools of desperate leaders.

The licentiousness of those who were instigated by pride, poverty, and passion to set their lives at hazard, was scarcely more destructive to morals than the horrid hypocrisy which succeeded. In the first instance the calamitous circumstances of the times had precluded attention to education, and the restraints of authority were relaxed, while the ruin of individuals deprived them of the means of instruction for their children. When fanaticism triumphed, learning was regarded either with abhorrence or contempt. In this deteriorated state, Charles was called to assume authority, but he was during the whole period of his reign too much involved in pecuniary difficulties, the natural result of his licentious habits, to be the efficient encourager of learning like his proud contemporary, Louis.

Among the causes and effects of this debasement of national purity and refinement we may

confidently rank the degradation of the female character. The free principles of the times had loosened the bonds of relative affection as well as those of authority; the characters of women were so much altered during the progress of the national troubles that we can hardly recognise them as a part of the same community as the English, and this particularly illustrates the evils of revolutions, which level the distinguishing grades of civil and moral being. "The young women," remarks Lord Clarendon, "conversed without circumspection or modesty, and frequently met at taverns and common eating-houses. They who were stricter and more severe in their deportment became the wives of the seditious preachers, or of the officers in the army, while the daughters of noble and illustrious families bestowed themselves upon the divines of the time or other low and unequal matches." Till this calamitous period it had been customary to give females a learned education, by which, if it sometimes produced pedantry, the intellectual resources of women were the security of their moral conduct, as their studies were generally directed to the sources which strengthened their moral and religious principles. But when the national troubles deprived individuals of the power of obtaining those advantages, they soon became undervalued in the estimation of society. Thus the very springs of instruction were closed, or if a few rills yet remained, they were polluted by licentiousness or rendered disgusting by fanaticism; but not only did this selfish spirit interfere with private and domestic instruction, it also even suspended its public use. The pious and observant Evelyn remarks in his journal, that during the tyranny of the common-wealth, he was accustomed on Sunday afternoon to catechise and instruct his family. "These exercises," he adds,

"universally ceasing in the parish churches, so as people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity; all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons and discourses of speculative and national things."

It is an assertion of which experience attests the truth, that where the women sink in character, where the household and feminine virtues have no longer estimation, manly dignity, probity, and honour and national prosperity must be endangered, weakened, and destroyed. Sir William Temple bears witness to this lamentable demoralization of the period. He says, "I have seen no country so generally corrupted as my own by a common pride and affectation of despising and laughing at all force of order, and virtue, and conformity to laws, which after all," he emphatically adds, "are qualities that most conduce both to the happiness of a public state and the ease of private life."

Amongst those who had the disgraceful and lamentable pre-eminence in debasing and corrupting the public morals by the perversion of talents, and the unprincipled use of the keen weapons of ridicule, stands conspicuous Lord Goring, whose life so injurious to the morals of his country was ended in a Spanish Dominican convent, for passing from the extreme of profligacy to that of superstition, he assumed the monastic habit.

Buckingham followed in his sins, abusing all the advantages of fortune, station, and talents to the worst purposes, and with other compeers in wickedness made the court of Charles a scene of depravity. Most of the writers of this age indeed present evidences of genius perverted by the most corrupt and impure passions, and though eminent in abilities, as distinguished for the perversion of them. Sir William Temple seems almost the only

honourable exception, one who remained unpolluted by the contagion of vice and licentiousness which pervaded the nation: we speak of what is termed elegant literature. In history we may rank Clarendon for accuracy, impartiality, and variety of incident, truly interesting, though defective and prolix in style. As a mathematician and divine Dr. Barrow ranks high, possessed of an enlarged and comprehensive mind, an imagination glowing and rich, he placed his subject in the most luminous point of view, and forcibly and impressively brought his arguments to bear, for deeply feeling the emotions he desired to excite, his was the command of true eloquence. The high church Tillotson contrasted with Barrow, but he possessed his own peculiar excellencies. Strength and fervour marked the one, simplicity and gentleness distinguished the other.

In philosophy the name of Locke cannot be forgotten; the highest powers of intellect are embodied in language marked by precision, perspicuity, and simplicity, almirably suited to the subjects treated. These and mumberless other writers distinguish the period between the restoration and the commencement of the reign of Anne, to which we are arrived; after this period, which may be better regarded as the Augustan period of English literature than that of the restoration, a host of writers arose, who in different ways contributed to accelerate the march of intellect, and to enlarge and refine our language and our moral sentiments. How great an influence has literature upon national manners, and how powerful the influence of manners on the press! There certainly is not a more subtile and terrible poison in the world than that which is extracted from and administered by corrupt literature, as there is not a more powerful engine of good than that of books,

written in the spirit of virtuous benevolence and drawing their arguments from the pure founts of rational religion and true philosophy. Mineral, vegetable, and other poisons operate only on the physical system, they destroy only the corporal man, they reach not his better part, his undying soul. But that which is administered by books, while it is deadly, is slowly and imperceptibly imbibed by the victim. It fascinates the mental taste, and spreads its envenomed influence on a page of snow. That only deserves the name of mortal poison which affects not the corporal powers, but the faculties of the mind, the sentiments of the heart. The inexperienced soul, unsuspecting of danger, has no thought of the seduction which is stealing over its best feelings; it has no consciousness of imbibing evil with the pleasure it experiences in the gratification of its taste in marking the daring flights of genius. The mischief is not suspected nor perceived till the germs of it have taken root, and favouring circumstances cause the deleterious plant to spring; then it is found that impressions strongly received into the mind cannot be obliterated without agony; thoughts which have fixed their blasting influence on the brain. The virtuous feelings of the soul cannot be recalled; the delicate bloom of mental and moral innocence once removed, is never to be replaced. If such are the effects of literature on the human mind, how much does it behove experience to direct the youthful student, and firmly though gently to enter a protest against all those writers who prostitute their talents to the purposes of vice, licentiousness, and baneful sophistries, making good evil, and evil good!

CHAPTER XXVI.

A. D. 1703.

Discontent and oppressions in Ireland—Their causes—Lord Ormond invested with the government—A parliament—Its acts—Intrigues of the catholics—Discontents of England, have great influence on Ireland—Acts of the clergy—Sacheverell tool of the tory party—Excitement of popular feeling—Sacheverell impeached—Impolicy of the measure—The trial and sentence—Changes in the administration—Conclusion of a peace—Marlborough removed—Parties equally violent in Ireland—Contentions and acrimony of the parliament—Duke of Shrewsbury governor—Prorogues the parliament—Returns to England—Leaves Chancellor Phipps and the Archbishop of Armagh justices of the kingdom—Hopes of the jacobins elevated by the peace of Utrecht—Demise of the Queen—Accession of George the First—Impeachment of the Duke of Ormond, with the Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke—Ormond and Bolingbroke escape to France—Parliament of Ireland—Its dispositon and acts—Pretender passes into Scotland—Commences operations—Attacked and routed by the royal army—State of popular feeling—Parliaments made septennial—Acts of the English parliament of 1718—Discontents and disorders—South Sea scheme—Noblemen committed to the Tower—Atterbury banished—Oppressions and grievances in Ireland—Practice of appeals from the Irish to the English parliament, complained of as an intolerable grievance—English parliament brings in a bill for the better securing the independence of Ireland—Affair of Wood—It increases the popular irritation—Tranquillity enjoyed under the government of Lord Carteret—An upright parliament—Judicious acts and regulations—Lord Carteret succeeded by the Duke of Dorset—Lord Chesterfield's popular administration—Charles Lucas—His political character—French invasion—Parliament assembles—Loyalty of the Irish—Hostile invasion—Siege of Carrickfergus—French take and plunder it—They sail—White Boys—Causes of popular commotion—Sufferings of the people—Judge Aston—The catholics protest their loyalty—Disturbances in Ulster—The cause—Oak Boys—Steel Boys—Their disorders—Commercial restrictions—Calamitous effects to the country—Irish affairs taken into consideration, but unsuccessful in result.

We once more return to our retrospect of Ireland, which presents one unvarying scene of discontent and oppression. These were both produced by the unwarrantable conduct of the trustees, for the continued cause of contention was the forfeited estates. The troubles of the kingdom had also been increased and fomented by the importation and encouragement of the factions which disturbed England. When the Duke of Ormond, however, succeeded Lord Rochester in the government, he was received most joyfully, from the remembrance of his virtuous ancestors, so distinguished as the protectors and bulwarks of the protestant interest. In an animated speech at the opening of a parliament, he assured the Irish that his inclination, his interest, and the examples of his progenitors, equally prompted him to improve every opportunity to the advantage and prosperity of his native country. Various acts were framed in this parliament relative to the forfeited estates, the acknowledgment of the succession, and other matters; but that which is more decidedly relevant to our subject, was the enactment of a severe bill against the increase of popery. Among other clauses, it enacted that all estates of papists should be equally divided amongst the children, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless the persons on whom they might be settled should qualify themselves by taking the oaths, and communicating with the Church of England. The English ministry were greatly chagrined at this bill, but as they did not think it politic to reject it altogether, they added a clause, which they hoped the Irish senate would refuse, that is, that no persons in that kingdom should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament

according to the test act passed in England. Though this bore directly on the dissenters, the parliament were so eager to secure themselves from the dangers of a revival of popery, that they accepted the amendment. And it would appear, that their fears were not entirely ungrounded, as a member of the house asserted, that in the county of Limerick in particular, the Irish papists had begun to form themselves into regular organised bodies, ready to plunder the protestants of their arms and property, and that they maintained a free correspondence with the disaffected in England, as well as with foreign powers. The house declared it as their opinion, that the intrigues of the catholics were occasioned by the hopes they entertained of the accession of James Stuart, known by the name of James III. They passed an act for preventing popish priests from coming into the kingdom, and also one for naturalizing all protestant strangers.

The discontents of England had great influence also in Ireland, where there existed a reciprocity of political feeling. The queen, by yielding to the tory faction, had incurred the jealousy and resentment of the whigs, who were in the revolution of state intrigue in a manner proscribed, and were, in consequence, suspicious of the designs of their opponents against the protestant succession. Elevated by their good fortune, the tories had indeed revived the almost exploded doctrines of high monarchical and high church principles, they even held a secret correspondence with the court of St. Germains, on the presumption that the queen was disposed to favour the succession of her brother, and to obtain a repeal of the act of settlement. In order to forward these views, and to obtain a complete triumph over their political opponents, the tories loudly

contended that the church and monarchy were both endangered from the prevalence of republican and sectarian principles, and a bill against occasional conformity, which would have excluded all dissenters, consequently a great number of whigs, from all civil offices and public employments, was twice presented to parliament, but as often rejected. The failure of this measure, and other circumstances, indicating the strength of the whig party, induced several of the weaker to conceal their sentiments, and to coalesce with the stronger, at the same time persuading the queen to bring a few of the whigs into office, and to dismiss some of the more violent tories. This division in the English cabinet, with the discontents in Scotland respecting the union, encouraged the popish party, animated their hopes respecting the son of James, and led Louis to hope that he might create a distraction in England, by an invasion, so as to divert and weaken the efforts of the allies in Flanders. That these party feuds extended their influence to Ireland is abundantly apparent from the transactions of the parliament there.

In the session of 1705, the houses came to some resolutions, which obliquely reflected on the convocation of clergy, as enemies to her majesty's government, and the protestant succession. The clergy, in order to acquit themselves of suspicion, resolved in their turn, that the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by King William, at the revolution, that the continuance of these blessings were due, (under God,) to the auspicious reign and happy government of her majesty Queen Anne, that the future security and preservation of the church and nation depended wholly, (under God,) on the succession of the crown, as settled by law, in the

protestant line; therefore, if any clergyman should, by word or writing, declare any thing in opposition to these resolutions, they should regard him as a sower of divisions among the protestants, and an enemy to the constitution. They also levelled a resolution against the presbyterians, that to teach or preach against the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or to maintain schools or seminaries for the education of youth, in principles contrary to those of the established church, was a contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom, of pernicious consequence, serving only to continue and to widen the unhappy schisms and divisions of the nation.

This parliament was prorogued by the Duke of Ormond, until the same month (June) of the following year, as he passed over to England, leaving the administration in the hands of Sir Richard Cox, lord chancellor, and Lord Cutts, commander-in-chief of the queen's forces. Never was the virulence of the spirit of party more strikingly illustrated, than in the notoriety obtained by Sacheverell, who was made the tool of the tory party, to excite the popular feeling in aid of their intrigues. The favour of the multitude is as evanescent as it is worthless; it is only to be retained by offering it continually renewed objects of excitement. The inflammatory doctrine, that the church was in imminent danger from dissenters, and men of free principles and civil liberty, had been the constant theme of the high church party, from the commencement of the reign of Anne. These opinions were received among the vulgar with their usual credulity, and believed implicitly to be the fact, producing continual jealousies and suspicions, and creating many animosities and unfounded prejudices. This discontented and

seditious feeling was augmented to a pernicious height by the individual we have named, who, in a sermon delivered before the lord mayor of London, and the court of aldermen, inveighed in the most violent and opprobrious terms against the dissenters, and the more moderate part of the Church of England, whom he denominated *false brethren;* he also threw severe and pointed reflections on persons in power, inculcating in strong and unequivocal terms the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, animating the people to rise in defence of the church, which he declared was in danger, and for which, he said, he sounded the trumpet, desiring them to put on the whole armour of God. The lord mayor, who was a zealous high church man, not only encouraged this bold and seditious preacher to publish his discourse, but also accepted a dedication, which was still more violent and inflammatory than the sermon itself. Sentiments so congenial to their views, rendered the whole meritorious to the tory faction, and such is the tendency of the human mind to admit novel and daring opinions, that forty thousand copies are said to have been circulated in the space of a few weeks, although it had nothing to recommend it but the virulent spirit of party which dictated it. The sensation it created, however, was mighty; it divided the opinions of the nation, and awakened the slumbering spirit of discontent and fear. These feelings would have easily passed away with the scurrilous production which had aroused them, had it been treated with the contempt it merited; but unfortunately, the ministry thought it of sufficient consequence to ground a parliamentary prosecution. Nothing could be more satisfactory to Sacheverell than this publicity, which brought him prominently forth as the cham-

pion of the church. As his offence was not deemed punishable by common law, it was resolved to proceed by impeachment; and to complete the folly of the whole affair, after Sacheverell had been taken into custody, articles were exhibited against him by the house of lords, and his trial was appointed to take place in Westminster-hall, that the whole body of the commons might be present. Nothing could be more absurd and impolitic than this measure; instead of counteracting the impression which his seditious and inflammatory discourse had made, it converted the writer into a popular idol; every thing wrong in his composition was forgotten, and he was regarded as the innocent victim of a powerful and malignant party, whom they were determined to crush, because he had had the moral courage to speak the truth, and to disclose their ambitious and self-interested intrigues. Importance was given to every assertion, and those who had perused the discourse only from curiosity, now believed the propositions were well grounded, and that the church and monarchy were indeed in imminent danger of destruction. London became a scene of anarchy and confusion, during the period of this extraordinary trial, so great was the excitation of the popular feeling, and many outrages were committed.

At length the proceedings closed, Sacheverell was found guilty, but his sentence was so lenient, that it was regarded as a triumph by the tories: he was suspended from preaching for three years, but not precluded preferment; his sermon was condemned to be burnt. The populace ascribed the mildness of his sentence to the principle of fear, not to the moderation of the ministry; their prejudices were, therefore, in no degree removed, nor the rancour of party spirit softened. Their

victory was celebrated with every token of exultation, addresses were sent from all parts of the kingdom, asserting the absolute power of the crown, condemning the doctrine of resistance, as the result of anti-monarchical and republican principles, of which principles the whigs were unequivocally accused by the opposite party, who engrossed the royal confidence, and inspired the mind of the queen with jealousies against those who had formerly enjoyed her entire favour, and who, in fact, had held her in a political captivity. She availed herself of the present state of popular feeling to emancipate herself from this thraldom, and effected material changes in the administration, retaining only of the whole whig party, the Duke of Marlborough.

We have found ourselves obliged to give this cursory relation of the opposing parties of the realm, because the whole transactions of the period are connected with their struggles for power, their jealousies, and their public acts, differing, for political reasons, from the private sentiments of the parties. The tories rested not in their intrigues till they had elevated themselves into power, the result of which was the conclusion of a peace, preceded by the removal of Marlborough from all his employments, which effected the entire downfall of the whig party. So true is it, that it rarely happens, that the individual who owes his elevation to the opinion of the people, can long preserve it. A glory, created and rewarded by public suffrage, deriving from the same source its existence and its celebrity, is a state altogether at the mercy of public inconstancy, and experience abundantly proves, that brief as is the life of man, it yet is of far longer duration than the judgments, the affections, and the support of his contemporaries.

The parties which thus divided the state in England, were equally violent in Ireland. In the parliament there of 1711, the Duke of Ormond and the majority of peers supported the tory interest, while the commons adhered closely and warmly to the whigs; of course, the session was distinguished for severe resolutions against each other, and each espoused the predominant principles which guided their respective parties in England. After the session, the duke again returned to England.

When the Duke of Shrewsbury was nominated lord lieutenant, the parliament he assembled were still entirely at variance, on the opposite principles of whig and tory. A bill was brought in to attaint the pretender and his adherents, and a person of the name of Edward Lloyd was prosecuted for publishing a book, entitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George." An address was also agreed upon, to be presented to the queen, to remove from the office of chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, who countenanced the tories. It was, however, resolved by the lords, that the chancellor had in his several stations acquitted himself with honour and integrity. The two houses of convocation presented an address to the same purpose, by complaining of Mr. Molesworth for having insulted them, by remarking, when they appeared in the castle of Dublin, "they that have turned the world upside-down are now come hither also." He was accordingly removed from the privy council! What can more forcibly illustrate the mean revenge and narrowing influence of party spirit than this incident. A parliament actuated by such contracted principles, and divided against itself, portended nothing but contention and acrimony; the Duke of Shrewsbury was therefore directed to pro-

rogue it. Having done this, he obtained permission to return to England, leaving Chancellor Phipps with the Archbishops of Armagh and Tuam justices of the kingdom.

In the meantime the peace of Utrecht highly raised the hopes of the Jacobites, who flattered themselves that the general tranquillity would afford the queen leisure to take some effectual step in favour of the Pretender, whose interest she appeared sincerely desirous to promote. It is unnecessary here to enter into a detail of the measures and intrigues resorted to in order to effect the succession of this bigoted prince. But as a proof how far party will overcloud the judgment and nullify the lessons of experience, we cannot omit to relate that the majority of the Tories, in their vehement zeal for the hereditary descent of the crown, passed over or forgot the danger of the Pretender's attachment to the Romish religion, appearing totally unconscious that it is the commanding principle of that faith to sacrifice all civil engagements to its service and extension. For surely had they been impressed with these truths, they could not have ventured upon the absurd and dangerous assurance, that if the Prince would only *outwardly* conform to the Church of England without the formality of a public recantation they would endeavour to obtain the immediate repeal of the act of settlement. Thus would they have bribed their future monarch to become a hypocrite. We are not however to expect a very tender moral sense in the frequenters of courts, or the members of a cabinet.

The designs thus formed by the Tory party seemed ripening for execution, when the demise of the queen at once changed the current of affairs. Of course the elation of the Whigs was high on an event which they supposed would dispel their fears

respecting the succession. The Tories were depressed by the sudden defeat of their schemes, and the adherents of James utterly disconcerted. Agreeably to the act of settlement orders were given immediately on the decease of the queen, to proclaim George Elector of Brunswick King of Great Britain. A regency was appointed according to his nomination, his title was acknowledged by foreign powers, and every thing remained tranquil in England until his arrival. Power now reverted into the hands of the Whigs, as the king openly avowed himself their friend and patron, in fact, owing to them in a great measure his accession to the throne. One of the first principal acts of his reign was the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond with the Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke. Ormond and Bolingbroke effected their escape to France, but Oxford remained in confinement. These proceedings and the evident partiality of the monarch to the Whigs created great discontents, which were industriously fomented by those who had not cordially liked the accession of the house of Hanover. The seeds of rebellion were thus very early planted. The disbanded soldiers were gained over to the Jacobite party by money and fair promises. Infamous libels were industriously circulated respecting the electoral family. The Pretender's manifestos as diligently dispersed, all the Whigs were brought under the description of dissenters, and as a ready and effectual excitement of popular feeling, the cry of an endangered church was loudly revived. These discontents and cabals would undoubtedly have resulted in some great national contest, had not Providence by circumstances overruled the portentous events and defeated the purposes of the Jacobites. The parliament of Ireland, which we must regard as the sense of the nation, seemed at this period more

zealous if possible than that of England for the present administration. They passed bills for the recognition of the king's title, for the security of his person and government, for setting a price on the Pretender's head, and for attainting his great adherent the Duke of Ormond. They desired the lords justices would issue a proclamation against the popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who presuming upon the capitulation signed by William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other papists. They warmly engaged in an association against the Pretender and all his abettors. Orders were also given for apprehending several noblemen suspected of disaffection to the government.

In the meantime, notwithstanding the indigence which depressed him, and the small chances of success which appeared, the Pretender passed into Scotland there to assert his rights. He was joined by several lords and commenced his hostile operations. But a want of unanimity among the rebel chiefs proved fatal to the cause, which was wildly commenced and injudiciously prosecuted. The rebel forces were attacked and completely routed by the royal army.

When we reflect upon the duplicity and bigotry of this branch of an unfortunate family, we must regard the result of his attempt as an important circumstance to the happiness of our country. The suppression of this rebellion greatly increased the influence of the crown, but national dissatisfaction still continued. Many victims of rebellion had necessarily from a due sense of justice suffered, and although during the dangers of rebellion the sacrifice had been considered unavoidable and just, yet now fear had subsided the usual reaction took place in the popular sentiment, and the humane passions took place of the vindictive. From ad-

miration of the fortitude, and pity for the fate of those individuals who had paid to their country the forfeit of their lives, the transition was easy to a bias for the cause for which they had bled. The ministry, aware of this universal disaffection, and justly dreading the influence it might have on a new parliament, intrigued to effect the repeal of the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of parliament to seven years, although this very act was by them pronounced essential to the conservation of British freedom. The bill, although warmly opposed, was finally carried by a great majority, and confirmed the stability of the Hanover succession.

Amidst the various factions and consequent transactions which agitated England during the administration of Walpole, and the previous irritation arising from the South Sea scheme, the political pulse of Ireland seems to have beat in unison. Oppressions and grievances were loudly complained of as intolerable; the validity of possessions produced continual aggressions and appeals, till they both grew so perplexed and aggravating, that a representation was made to the king, that the practice of appeals from the Irish parliament to the English peers was not only an insufferable grievance, but an usurped jurisdiction of the latter, and could no longer be borne with. This however so far from proving any mitigation of the grievance, rivetted the chains more closely, for a bill passed in the English parliament for the better insuring the dependence of Ireland. The irritation of the Irish at this confirmation of what was considered restraints upon their just rights, was greatly exasperated by a patent being granted to an Englishman, named Wood, to coin halfpence and farthings for the use of Ireland. In this affair Wood is stated to have acted very dishonourably,

inasmuch that a shilling of the halfpence he made were not intrinsically worth one penny. Powerful remonstrances were made against this patent, and among the writers who excited the gratitude of the country in pointing out the destructive influence of the measure upon the trade and revenue of the nation was Dean Swift, who by the manliness of his arguments and his fearless truisms nearly involved himself in danger. The Irish by these oppressions were rendered yet more tenacious of their rights and jealous of their invasion, while the British ministry seemed eagerly to watch for every opportunity of encroaching upon them. It is pleasing however to find the vexations and causes of irritation passed away, and that under the government of Lord Carteret the Irish people enjoyed singular tranquillity, while the parliament at that period proved (what they should be,) the fathers and friends of their country. Funds were established for the discharge of the national debt, and for maintaining the expense of government, wholesome laws enacted, and many judicious regulations in different branches of civil economy. When Lord Carteret returned to England he was succeeded by the Duke of Dorset.

Nothing interesting marks the interval between this and the government of Lord Chesterfield, appointed in 1745. The term of this nobleman's power is distinguished for the moderation he evinced and the attention he gave to the liberties of the people. He was advised to augment the forces of Ireland by four thousand men, on account of the apprehensions of government respecting the rebellion in favour of the pretender. Instead of this he evinced his confidence in the Irish by sending four battalions to the army of the Duke of Cumberland, and encouraged the volunteer associations which formed in different

places for the defence of the country. All this was done with a judicious attention to economy and mindfulness to avoid all oppression of the people. More especially was his administration popular and satisfactory on account of the attention he paid to the catholics. Before his arrival the Roman catholic chapels had been shut up; their priests were commanded by proclamation to leave the kingdom, and such as disobeyed had been subjected to imprisonment and other penalties. Lord Chesterfield however, from a conviction that the affections may be gained by gentle means, permitted them to exercise their religion without disturbance; with a generous confidence he disregarded the insinuations thrown out of their forming plots against government, nor was the tranquillity of the nation in any degree disturbed by the indulgence granted. On Lord Chesterfield leaving Ireland his bust was placed at the public expence in the Castle at Dublin.

Having quitted his honourable station in the spring of 1746 Ireland continued to be governed by lords justices till the autumn, when Lord Harrington was invested with the power as lord lieutenant. It was at this period that the celebrated Charles Lucas, distinguished for his patriotism and firmness, advocated the rights of his fellow citizens, which had been invaded, and produced a protracted contest between the commons and aldermen in Dublin. Government became alarmed at the boldness of Lucas, and the popular excitement it produced. He was charged with libel from some expressions in his publications; he was voted an enemy to his country, and the lord lieutenant was addressed to prosecute him. The universal esteem however with which he was regarded saved him from the effects of ministerial severity, but he was obliged to leave Ireland.

After some time he returned, and such was still his popularity, that he was chosen member for Dublin, in which honourable station he continued to distinguish himself by the same virtuous principles he had ever held, and finally died with the character he had preserved through life of the *incorruptible* Lucas.

In 1759 the alarm of the French invasion, which disturbed the tranquillity of England, diffused itself also to Ireland, producing some public disorder. The parliament assembled at Dublin, and a message of the lord lieutenant intimated the alarmed state of national feeling, and urged the Irish to maintain the honour and to exert themselves in the defence of the kingdom. The loyalty of the Irish was manifested on this occasion; no sign of disaffection to the reigning family appeared, but on the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Roman catholic faith offered to accommodate the government with considerable sums in case of necessity, in order to support the existing establishment against its enemies, strongly expressing their sense of the king's paternal tenderness for his kingdom of Ireland, and gratefully acknowledging that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his dominion. They professed their indignation at the threatened invasion of the kingdom by an enemy who, vainly flattered with an imaginary hope of assistance in Ireland, from the former attachment of the people, presumed upon it. They added, that such schemes they solemnly averred were altogether inconsistent with their principles and intentions, and declared they were ready to unite in defence of and support of his majesty's person and government, &c.

Such assurances could not but be pleasing at a juncture so important and critical; but although no disaffection prevailed, a spirit of dissatisfaction

manifested itself among the populace of Dublin. This arose from the idea among the lower classes that a union was soon to take place between Great Britain and Ireland, in which event the latter would be deprived of its parliament, and as it was thought all vestige of independency, and subjected to the same taxes which might be levied upon the English. This notion, whether justly grounded or not, so greatly inflamed the populace that they assembled in great multitudes, broke into the House of Lords, insulted the peers, and compelled the members of both houses to take an oath, that they would never consent to such union or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. The military were drawn out on the occasion, but the multitude dispersed during the night. A committee of inquiry was appointed the following day to discover and punish the ring-leaders.

The year 1760 is distinguished in Irish annals as having been disturbed by an inconsiderable hostile invasion by the French, as a diversion to facilitate the enterprize of M. de Conflans, which ended so fatally for him. The invading armament now alluded to consisted originally of five vessels, having one thousand and seventy land forces on board; the whole was commanded by the celebrated Thurot, whose reputation as commander of a privateer had advanced him to the important service. On arrival at the coast of Ireland, a violent storm obliged the armament to seek shelter in Lough Foyle, and the wind shifting the vessels were obliged to put out to sea. Two of them were separated; after being tempest beaten some time and reduced to very scanty allowance the officers requested their commander to return to France, lest they should perish by famine; but he was regardless of their entreaties, frankly

telling them that he would not return without having struck some stroke for the service of his country. In the hope of meeting with some refreshment he steered to the island of Isla, where they anchored and obtained some cattle and a small supply of oatmeal, for both of which Thurot honourably paid. Animated by this timely refreshment they thence sailed to Carrickfergus; the whole kingdom having caught alarm from the arrival of the French on the coast. The troops effected a descent; they amounted to about six hundred men. Lieutenant-Colonel Jennings then commanded four companies of undisciplined men at Carrickfergus; he commanded a detachment to watch the motions of the enemy, taking the precaution to send some French prisoners to Belfast. A regular attack on the town was made by the French, and a spirited defence ensued, but was rendered unsuccessful on the part of the English by the failure of ammunition. The enemy took possession of Carrickfergus, and the garrison betook themselves to the castle, where they were soon obliged to capitulate, after having killed about two hundred of the enemy, with the loss of only three on their own side. The French having plundered the town did not attempt to advance further into the country, for a considerable number of troops had been assembled and the people manifested a laudable spirit of loyalty and resolution. The French therefore set sail, and were three days subsequent captured by Captain Elliot, Thurot being killed in the engagement.

Soon after the accession of George the Third Ireland first began to be disturbed by a banditti, called by some Levellers, and by others White Boys, from their wearing a white frock to distinguish themselves. These lawless individuals being principally of the Romish religion, the pre-

judices against that class of the community broke forth in the usual manner. It was alleged that a plot had been formed against the government, and that French and Spanish emissaries had been sent over to Ireland to be employed in the execution of the treasonable designs. It may be truly said that physical misery leads to moral delinquency, and to the former we may attribute the unlawful acts of the wretched population, which under these circumstances are the too ready engines to effect the complicated designs of deep politicians, or bold ambitious spirits. The origin of the popular commotion at the period we allude to may be traced to causes far removed from political.

Early in this century the murrain broke out among the horned cattle in the dutchy of Holstein, from thence it spread to other parts of Germany; from Germany it reached Holland, and as might be expected extended to England, where it raged with violence several years. Some investigation of the penal laws against papists about the same period encouraged the inhabitants of the south of Ireland to direct their thoughts to agriculture, and in consequence the poor even began to enjoy the necessaries of life in a comfortable manner; but by reason of the cattle-disease mentioned, a foreign demand for beef and butter became very considerable. The ground appropriated to grazing of course became more valuable than that employed in tillage: the poor cottars were every where dispossessed of their little possessions, which the mercenary landlords let to monopolisers, who could afford a higher rent. Whole baronies were now laid open to pasturage, while the former inhabitants were plunged into poverty, wretchedness and desperation, not knowing how to obtain a subsistence. Those know little of the human

heart, who are not aware how much the moral sanctions which animate and direct it are weakened or deadened by the existence or combination of circumstances that plunge an individual into want or approximate him to it, and more especially so when such a wretched state is produced by oppression and injustice. The milk of human kindness and sympathy is then turned to gall, and the oppressed thinks himself justified in acts of hostility and revenge. In consequence of this state of things in Ireland, numbers of the peasantry, who were progressively improving their condition in their native land, were driven to emigrate, or fled to the immoral atmosphere of cities. A few who remained took small plots of land at an exorbitant price, where they endeavoured, if possible, to procure the means of protracting a miserable existence for themselves and families.

The aggregate of human misery produced by these individual instances was very great, and insensibly poisoned that generous feeling which attaches a man to the government of his country. During some time these poor creatures were allowed by the more humane landlords the liberty of commonage; but subsequently this was disallowed, in despite of common justice and even positive agreement. At the same time the payment of tithes and the low price of labour, (not exceeding the wages in the time of Elizabeth,) aggravated beyond measure the distresses of the sufferers. In such a situation it can be no subject of wonder, when we consider the ignorance of the lower classes, that illegal methods were resorted to in expectation of redress. The people assembled in parties during the night, turned up the ground, destroyed cattle, levelled enclosures, and committed other acts of violence. These ebulli-

tions of desperate feeling and unavailing efforts were construed into religious frenzy and plots against the government: numbers of the offenders were apprehended in Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary, and some condemned and executed. In some places these poor unhappy wretches, instead of being regarded as they truly were, as objects of compassion, were prosecuted with severity. Judge Aston however forms an honourable exception to this severe spirit; he executed his painful and arduous duty, when sent to try them, with so much humanity as to do the highest honour to his feelings and integrity. An extraordinary and affecting instance of this is related. On his return to Dublin after having tried the prisoners at Clonmell, for above ten miles from that place the road was lined with men, women, and children, who, as he passed, kneeled down and implored the blessing of heaven upon him as their guardian and protector.

The violences of the White Boys continued. The idea of rebellion still prevailed, and many gentlemen supposed to be instigators were obliged to give surety in order to protect themselves from injury. The Catholics of Waterford presented a petition to Lord Hertford the governor in behalf of themselves and brethren, protesting their loyalty and ready obedience to government. But the error was, no step was taken to investigate or to remove the *cause* of the disturbances. About two years subsequent to this appearance of the White Boys, a similar commotion arose in Ulster, but the cause was different, and the effect of much shorter duration. By an act of parliament the making and repairing highways in Ireland was formerly a grievous oppression on the lower ranks. A housekeeper who had no horse was obliged to work at them six days in the year, and if he had a horse the labour of

both was required. Besides this the poor complained that they were frequently obliged to work at roads made for the convenience of individuals, and which were of no service to the public. Complaints were also made of the unreasonable tithes exacted by the clergy, and the high rent of lands. It was in 1773 therefore that being exasperated by a road proposed to be made through a part of the county of Armagh, the inhabitants most nearly affected by it rose simultaneously and declared they would make no more high roads of the kind. As a mark of distinction they wore oak boughs in their hats, and hence were styled Oak Boys. The number of these partizans rapidly increased and the insurrection became general throughout the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. In a few weeks however they were dispersed by the military, and the public tranquillity was restored with the loss of only a few lives. The road act which had roused the latent inflammatory feeling was repealed the next session, and it was determined for the future that the roads should be made and repaired by a tax equally assessed on the lands of the rich and poor. Besides these two parties of insurgents, a third arose calling themselves Steel Boys. They appear to have been instigated by the following incident. The estate of an absentee nobleman happened to be out of lease, he therefore proposed instead of taking additional rent, to take fines from his tenants. Many who at that time possessed his lands were unable to comply with his terms, while others who could afford to do so, insisted upon a greater rent from the immediate tenants than they were able to pay. The usual unhappy consequences of such a species of oppression, of course took place. Numbers being dispersed became destitute and desperate, committed outrages which rendered them obnoxious to the laws. One of these wretched indivi-

duals charged with felony was carried to Belfast in order to be committed to the county gaol, but his associates exasperated at their situation, determined to release him. The design was eagerly entered into by great numbers all over the county, and several thousand having provided themselves with offensive weapons, proceeded to Belfast in order to rescüe the prisoner. To prevent this he was removed to the barracks under the guard of soldiers. But the determined Steel Boys pressed forward to effect their purpose by force, and some shots were actually exchanged between them and the military. The consequences would undoubtedly have been very serious but for the courageous conduct of a physician, who interfered even at the risk of his life, and prevailed on those concerned to release the prisoner. The tumult however was not thus quelled, the combustible spirit had been ignited, and the flame rapidly spread. The number of insurgents daily increased, and the disorders and violences committed greatly exceeded those of the former parties. Some of the ringleaders were taken and tried at Carrickfergus, but none were condemned. This indulgence was attributed to the fear of popular resentment influencing the judges, an act was therefore made enjoining the trial of such persons, for the future, to be held in counties different from those in which the crimes were committed. But this breach of a fundamental law of the constitution was so offensive, that subsequently when some of the Steel Boys were taken up and committed to Dublin Castle, no jury would pronounce them guilty. The obnoxious law was therefore repealed, after which some of the insurgents being tried in their respective counties were condemned; but again as no efforts were taken to remove the cause of revolt, the continual distresses of the people drove thousands of them to America. We have related these causes of dis-

tress to prove that it was neither religion nor fanaticism which inspired the public, but an intolerable sense of oppression produced by a narrow and superficial policy, and a culpable indifference to individual and national welfare. In the tumult of man's passions it is impossible to make him understand, that his personal interest is intimately connected with the maintenance of general order. These passions may be coerced by the strong arm of authority, but they acquire internal strength, and are ready to rise into action on the first plausible opportunity afforded by the vicissitudes of the political or moral world. The irritation of wretchedness is easily produced, and it is necessary under such circumstances that a spirit of beneficence and forbearance animate the governing, softening by its attention and assistance the excess of wretchedness existing, and which by a multitude of channels like the vital stream, spreads itself through forlorn beings whom misery had almost exhausted.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the long continued discontents of the Irish, relative to their commercial restrictions. Suffice it to say that these, combined with remonstrances from England on various accounts, particularly for the payment of forces abroad, produced in the country the most calamitous effects. Individuals of every rank and condition were deeply involved and affected by the depression. Had the state of the exchequer admitted, grants might have been made to promote industry and to alleviate the national distress, but it was too much exhausted to afford relief. To illustrate this national poverty it is only necessary to add that the forces abroad could not be paid, and to enable the Irish government to pay for those at home they were obliged to borrow 50,000*l.* from England. The money re-

quisite for parliament was also borrowed at exorbitant interest. England could not but be affected by the wretched state of the sister kingdom. Indeed individuals possessing estates in Ireland were sharers in the common calamity, and the attention of many in the British parliament was directed to the situation of the unfortunate Irish, even though they possessed no personal interest in it. While things were in this deplorable state, Earl Nugent undertook the cause of the Irish in parliament, by moving that their affairs should be taken into consideration. This being agreed to, it was followed by several others favourable to the commerce of the Island.

The trades and manufactures of England however took the alarm, and petitioned against the Irish, and such was the opposing spirit that a warm contest took place at the second reading of the bills. Though the efforts of those who favoured the cause of Ireland proved at this time unsuccessful, they renewed their endeavours before the Christmas recess, urging that independent of all claims from justice and humanity, the relief of Ireland was enforced by necessity. Ireland had hitherto been passive, but there was danger by driving her to extremities, that she would cast off the yoke altogether, on the other hand they insisted that very considerable advantages must ensue to Britain by the emancipation of Ireland, and every benefit extended to that country would be returned with accumulated interest. The result of this was equally unsuccessful. Various other efforts were however made to render the laws of trade more effectually beneficial to the country, but nothing more could be obtained than a kind of compromise, by which Lord Gower pledged himself, as far as he could answer for the conduct of others, that during the recess some plan should be devised

for accommodating the affairs of Ireland to the satisfaction of all parties. Thus were the hopes of the oppressed and the miserable from time to time defeated. Against every effort of arbitrary power the mind naturally revolts, conciliation and gentleness are the most powerful engines both in the political and moral world.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Latent discontent—Crisis of affairs—The roused spirit of the Irish volunteers—Irish parliament address the king—Irish affairs discussed in the English parliament—Propositions of Lord North—Acts of parliament—Popularity of Lord North in Ireland—Discontent manifested—Increase of volunteer associations—Letters of Owen Roe O'Nial—Mutiny bill—Henry Grattan — Discontents—Reviews — Anticipated invasion of Ireland—Bad policy of the government—Resolution of the volunteers—Meet at Dungannon—Proceedings—Mr. Grattan moves an address to his Majesty—Association formed—Duke of Portland appointed lord lieutenant—Grattan renews his address—Succeeds in it—His great popularity—Jealousies continue—Conduct of Britain equivocal—Lord Temple appointed lord lieutenant—Representation to the English parliament—Result satisfactory—Effects of French revolution in Ireland—Character of the Irish—Mischievous union of religious opinions and political party spirit—United Irishmen—Their reforming views—Bill for the relief of the catholics—Military force—Proceedings of United Irishmen—They publish a manifesto—Disunion of the Irish—Catholic convention —Proceedings—They prepare a petition to the king—The result—Jealousies increase—Popular excitement—Debates respecting the Irish in the British parliament—Earl Fitzwilliam recalled—Lord Camden governor—Public ferment—Activity of United Irishmen—Revolutionary spirit—They apply to the French government—Lawless excesses—French prevented landing—Proclamation—Martial law—Organization of Society of United Irishmen—Prejudices against the catholics—Societies of Orangemen—The activity of reforming emissaries—Inflammatory document—Effects—Intercourse with the French —Invasion attempted, abortive, as also was a second attempt —Determination of the government—Members of Directory arrested—Proclamation—Military execution—Distresses—Severity of government—Insurrection checked—Dreadful ravages—Insurrection spreads—Measures of coercion necessary —The consequences.

UNDER these circumstances of external suffering the embers of a discontented spirit, and impatience of neglect and oppression were continually gaining additional warmth, until they burst forth into flame. The affairs of the country hastened to a crisis, and forced the British ministry to attend to those means which could relieve the suffering country. As long as the Irish affairs were under the consideration of the British parliament the inhabitants observed some portion of patience, but when they found the minister desert the cause he had favoured, their discontent was inflamed in the highest degree. The laws which had been passed in their favour were considered, but as a cruel mockery cheating them with hopes of relief, and it was now resolved to resort to such measures as should effectually convince the ministry that it was not their interest to act as they had done. Despairing of redress, they had recourse to the forming associations, and in a few months almost the whole nation was up in arms. Neighbouring powers were astonished to see an army of 50,000 volunteers risen on a sudden and equipped at their own expence, ready either to repel foreign invasion or domestic usurpation. Such as presumed to oppose the voice of the people, were exposed to obloquy and contempt. These volunteer associations openly avowed their fixed determination to demand a restitution of their rights from the British ministry, while they proposed unbounded loyalty and attachment to the king. In their conduct they were exemplary, for instead of exciting disorders they restrained every kind of irregularity, and exerted themselves with unanimity and vigour, in the due execution of the laws.

That they were, however, objects of apprehension to government is not surprising; for when once men have entered the path of popular re-

sistance, it too often happens that any thing tending to peace and reconciliation, though it were really favourable to their interests, would be rejected, and the public mind had been too much irritated not to excite apprehension of the result. These associations might, doubtless, in their infancy, have been repressed, by attention to the causes which had produced them; but they had now proceeded too far to be resisted without imminent national danger; those benefits which the Irish had entreated as generous boons from the ministry, they were now fully prepared and determined to demand as their just rights. As it appeared impossible to restrain these associations, attempts were made to bring them under the crown; this, however, was impracticable, therefore a generous confidence in them was thought to be the most politic; it was accordingly ordered that sixteen thousand stand of arms should be delivered to them. The Irish parliament, animated by the spirit manifested by the nation, and pressed by various individual difficulties, resolved to exert themselves, in order to procure the relief the country so greatly required. In an address to his majesty, 1779, it was said, "that it was not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone that Ireland was now to be saved from impending ruin."

The popular agitation was at this time very great: in the British house of peers the grievances of Ireland were the first subjects of discussion, and produced warm debates. A nobleman forcibly represented the necessity of granting relief; he observed that the Irish, now conscious of possessing a force and consequence not before enjoyed, had resolved to apply it to obtain the advantages of which the nation, by their spirited exertions, now showed themselves worthy. He

then moved a vote of censure on his majesty's ministers, for neglect of Ireland; this was rejected, but Lord Gower declared his firm conviction that it was well founded.

In the commons, on the 13th of December, Lord North made three propositions: 1st. To repeal the laws prohibiting the exportation of Irish woollen manufacture to any part of Europe; 2nd. That so much of the act of 19 George II. as prohibits importation of glass to Ireland, except of British manufacture, or to export glass from that kingdom, be repealed; and 3dly, that Ireland should be suffered to carry on a trade of export and import to and from the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and to the settlements on the coast of Africa, subject to such limitations, restrictions, and duties, as the parliament of Ireland should impose. These propositions were approved, and regularly formed into acts. By the Irish they were received with the utmost joy and gratitude, who passed some resolutions in consistency with them. The highest encomiums were passed upon Lord North; his exertions in favour of Ireland were declared to be great and noble, he was styled the great advocate of Ireland, and it was foretold that he would be of glorious and immortal memory in that kingdom. The censures of the opposing party were, of course, strong in proportion, inducing a bitter spirit of party, and much acrimonious language between political adversaries. To the propositions already named, Lord North subsequently added three others, in favour of the country whose cause he had espoused. Notwithstanding all the satisfaction these gave, it was not long before discontent again was manifested. It was suggested, that a free trade could be of little use, if held by a precarious tenure. The repeal

of the obnoxious laws was broadly represented as an act of necessity and fear, not of choice, or generous attention to national distress. When therefore that necessity (it was argued) no longer existed, the same parliament might recall the benefits it had granted, again fetter the Irish trade with restrictions, perhaps more oppressive than before. To secure the advantages they now possessed, it was necessary that they should enjoy a free constitution. For this the people looked up to their volunteers, and this object in view inspired them with such enthusiasm, that the numbers were greatly augmented; other causes also tended to increase them, they had received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and thus had obtained the sanction of the legislature. Many, in consequence, who had scrupled to unite themselves with a lawless body, now entered the lists. Government also engaged many of their friends in the volunteer cause. New companies were raised, and whatever might be the political bias of the officers, the privates were universally attached to the popular cause. The national spirit was supported and elevated by various patriotic publications, particularly a series of letters, signed Owen Roe O'Nial, which greatly attracted the public attention. In order to give the greater weight to their determinations, the volunteers formed themselves into battalions. The newspapers were filled with resolutions from the several corps, declaring Ireland to be an independent kingdom, entitled by reason, nature, and compact, to all the privileges of a free constitution; that no power on earth, excepting the king, with the lords and commons of Ireland, had, or ought to have, power to make laws for binding the Irish, and that in support of these rights and privileges, they were determined to sacrifice their

properties and lives. With all this zeal, however, the representatives of the people seem to have been supine and inconsistent. This was manifested in the case of a mutiny bill, which they allowed to be made perpetual in Ireland, though similar bills in England had invariably been cautiously passed from year to year. After it was passed, however, some of the zealous patriots, and particularly Mr. Grattan, forcibly pointed out the bad tendency of the act. He contended that the mutiny bill, or martial law methodised, was directly opposite to the common law of the land; it set aside the trial by jury, and all the ordinary steps of law, establishing in their stead a summary proceeding, arbitrary punishments, a secret sentence, and sudden execution. The object was, to bring those who became subject to it to a state of complete subordination, and to render the authority of the sovereign absolute. These and many other arguments, equally tending still further to the excitation of the public feeling, sufficiently illustrated the dangerous tendency of the bill. A general dissatisfaction took place, increased by two unsuccessful attempts in the house of commons, one to obtain an act to modify Poynings' law, and the other for securing the independence of the judges. An universal disgust against the fruitless attempts of parliament now ensued, and the hopes of the people were once more directed to the volunteers, as it became now probable that the national rights would be asserted by force of arms; preparations for which were indeed made, by reviews of the troops being appointed; these reviews presented a formidable force, well appointed and disciplined, and they proved their alacrity to serve their country in the field, on a report having arisen, that the kingdom was to be invaded by

the combined fleets of France and Spain, and for their spirited behaviour on that occasion, they received the thanks of both houses.

Although this formidable spirit and array alarmed the British government, still nothing was done to fulfil the wishes of the complainants. It was thought the lord lieutenant might still the spirit of discontent. The Duke of Buckingham was recalled, and the Earl of Carlisle appointed. The new governor, however, found it impossible to repress the roused spirit of the nation, although he found no difficulty in obtaining a majority in parliament. Redress thus seemed effectually denied; the volunteers, heated by disappointment, resolved now at once to show that they would do themselves justice, proudly conscious they had it in their power to do so. They had arrived to that degree of fermentation, in which the spirit of party is fully developed, and in a sense of their wants and their power, found ample motives of enthusiasm and animosity.

At a meeting of the officers of the southern division of the Armagh regiment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, it was resolved that the most vigorous measures ought to be pursued, for rooting corruption out of the legislative body; secondly, that a meeting for this purpose was necessary, and Dungannon, as the most central town of Ulster, was named as proper for that meeting. On a day appointed, this meeting did take place at Dungannon, although every method had been taken by the government to discourage it. The representatives of a hundred and forty-eight volunteer corps there assembled. The results of their deliberations were, that it having been asserted that volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate, or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament or

of public men, it was resolved, that a citizen, by learning the use of arms, does not abandon any of his civil rights; that a claim from any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind the people, is illegal, unconstitutional, and a grievance. The modification of Poynings' law, and the mutiny bill, were also adverted to, as well as that relating to the independence of judges. They then declared their fixed resolve to obtain redress, and pledged their honour to pursue the path they had entered upon, until they obtained their desire. A committee was formed to act for the volunteer corps, and to call general meetings as occasions should require.

While these proceedings took place at Dungannon, the ministerial influence in parliament greatly prevailed. The resolutions passed at Dungannon were received throughout the kingdom with great applause. A few days after, Mr. Grattan moved an address to his majesty, asserting the rights of the people, and the principle that now prevailed, that Ireland could legally be bound by no power but that of the king, with the lords and commons of the country, though the British parliament had assumed such power. Directed with his characteristic sagacity in catching at the propitious moment of feeling, Mr. Grattan, by the impassioned eloquence of his arguments, inspired the patriot feeling which appeared to animate himself, yet the motion was rejected by a large majority.

But the proceedings of the volunteers soon produced their effect. These having appointed their committees of correspondence, were enabled to communicate their sentiments to one another with facility and rapidity. An association was formed, in the name of the nobility, representa-

tives, and freeholders of the county of Armagh, wherein they set forth the necessity of declaring their sentiments openly respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of the people. They declared their resolution to maintain, by every means in their power, the constitutional right of the kingdom, to be governed by the king and parliament of Ireland, and that they would strenuously oppose any acts, except such as were derived from their own parliament, pledging themselves to support their resolutions with their lives and fortunes. These resolutions were generally adopted by similar meetings. The change in the British ministry, in 1782, facilitated the wishes of the people. The Duke of Portland was appointed lord lieutenant, and sent a conciliatory and welcome message to parliament, expressive of his majesty's concern for the state of Ireland, and recommending the most serious attention to the national concerns, and such as might give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

Mr. Grattan's active patriot zeal lost not this opportunity of display. He ventured to propose a second time the address which had been before rejected by parliament. In an eloquent speech he pointed out the grievances, the rights, and the noble pride of the Irish. "The Irish nation," he said, "were too high in pride, character, and power, to suffer any other nation to make their laws; England, indeed, had brought forward the question, not only by making laws for Ireland the preceding session, but by enabling his majesty to repeal all laws which England had made for America. Had she consented to repeal the declaratory law against America? And would she repeal that against Ireland? The Irish nation were incapable of submitting to such distinction."

The brilliant eloquence of Grattan was more prevailing than formerly, the motion which had been rejected, was now after a short debate agreed to, and the address to his majesty prepared accordingly. This document, after a full statement of complaints and regulations, concluded with expressions of confidence, that they would be graciously redressed, "as the people of Ireland had been and were not more disposed to share the freedom of England than to support her in difficulties and to share her fate." To this address a gracious answer was given.

The Lord Lieutenant assured both houses, that immediate attention had been paid to their representations; and that the legislature of Britain had concurred in the resolution to remove the causes of discontent, and were united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in the late address to the throne; and that in the mean time his majesty was graciously disposed to give his royal assent to acts to prevent the suppressing of bills in the Irish privy council, and to limit the mutiny bill to the term of two years.

The joy that now diffused itself over the kingdom appeared genuine, and was extreme. The warmest addresses were presented, not only to his majesty, but to the lord lieutenant. The commons instantly voted one hundred thousand pounds to his majesty, to enable him to raise twenty thousand men for his navy; and soon after, five thousand men were likewise voted from the Irish establishment. The volunteers became in a peculiar manner the objects of gratitude and panegyric, but none so conspicuously as Mr. Grattan, whose popularity was now at its acme; and the legislature seemed to participate in the feelings of the people, for in the fervour of admiration of his talents and services, addresses of

thanks flowed to him from all quarters, and the commons addressed his majesty to give him fifty thousand pounds, as a recompense for his services, for which they promised to make provision. This request was also complied with, yet the jealousies of the Irish were far from being completely eradicated. As the repeal of the declaratory act was found to be simple, without any clause expressly relinquishing the claim of right, several members of the house of commons were of opinion, that the liberties of Ireland were not yet entirely secured. The majority, however, were of opinion, that the simple repeal of the obnoxious act was sufficient; but many of the nation at large differed in sentiment upon the point. Mr. Flood, a member of the house, and a zealous patriot, took the lead in this matter; while Grattan lost a portion of his popularity, by expressing a contrary opinion. The matter, however, was in appearance finally settled, by the volunteers declaring themselves on Mr. Grattan's side. Still some murmurings were heard; and it must be candidly confessed, that even yet the conduct of Britain seemed equivocal. An English law was passed, *promising* importation from *one* of the West India islands to all his majesty's dominions, and of course including Ireland, though the trade of the latter had been declared *absolutely free*. This was regarded in a jealous and unfavourable light. Other causes of jealousy and suspicion, which it is unnecessary to dwell upon, still kept in full activity the spirit of discontent. All causes of hostile feeling, however, were, at least for a time, removed on the decease of the Marquis of Rockingham. Lord Temple was appointed to Ireland, and his brother and secretary went to England, where he made such a representation of the discontents that prevailed concerning the insufficiency of the declaratory act,

that a member of the house of commons moved to bring in a bill to remove from the minds of the people of Ireland all doubts respecting their legislative and judicial privileges. This bill contained every thing that could reasonably be desired; and thus the long contest at last terminated, and the kingdom became tranquillised, and freed from every restriction, either of commerce or manufactures.

It will readily be imagined, that the moral effects produced by the great political revolution, which at this period shook Europe to its centre, and made all institutions, however firm their basis, totter to destruction, were powerfully felt among a people constituted as the Irish, and situated, as they were, politically as a part of a great empire, but suffering under real or imagined oppression. It has been remarked, that the Irish are a nation, in which the extremities of virtue and vice are singularly blended; haughty, impetuous, and arrogant in prosperity; abject and desponding in adversity; in all things given to excess, whether on the brighter or the darker side. These were the very elements to receive readily, and cherish enthusiastically, those opinions which formed the frenzy of the day: opinions by which all the laws of moral obligation, and religious responsibility, were insidiously undermined, or violently assaulted, were too readily imbibed by the ignorant, and those whose system of religion had habituated them to be directed by others. Hence it was, that although the odious restrictions on Irish commerce were removed, and a wider sphere of political freedom was attained, many entertained projects of a deeper kind—of a radical reform in the political system, and even of revolution, subversive of the existing government.

The failure of several measures was attributed, perhaps truly, to the national disunion caused by the partition of the people, divided by the antipathies of protestants, protestant dissenters, and Roman catholics. It was thought, that if those discordant sects could be induced to abandon their religious distinctions in the one grand pursuit of political reform, and cordially to coalesce, every thing required might be obtained. And as the main strength of the nation was considered to rest in the catholics, it was an object of primary importance to give them a proportionate weight in the system, and to interest them warmly in the design. Hence, the removal of those legal restrictions and disqualifications by which the catholics were deprived of what was deemed their due share of political power, became desirable, and vigorous efforts were made, and various engines put in motion, to effect this end. Thus was formed a dangerous and mischievous union between religious opinions and political party spirit; the former, by such union, assuming too often the violence of fanaticism, prescribing its laws to every individual on whom it lays its baneful influence. The truth of these remarks was exemplified by the Irish, in the events it is the painful duty of the historian to record. It was in the year 1791, that a society was formed, designating itself that of the United Irishmen. It formed one of the most formidable of those political clubs instituted by the favourers of innovation. Its views were, to combine in one political band, as many as possible of their countrymen, without distinction of sect, for effectuating a change in the government of Ireland; or, as they declared in the true spirit of the French school, "for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power,

among Irishmen of every persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and *religious* liberty."

Catholic emancipation, and parliamentary reform, were thus blended as the avowed objects of their pursuit. By the former, was to be understood, a total abolition of all political distinctions between catholics and protestants; by the latter, a completely democratic house of commons, according to the spirit of the times. In the English parliament of 1791, a judicious and liberal bill was passed for the relief of the catholics; both parties supported it, to prove their confidence in those who had protested against the dangerous and disloyal opinions imputed to their sect. By this new act, they were exempt from all penal inflictions, except those which excluded them from civil and military employments, on condition of their abjuration of the following doctrines: namely, that princes excommunicated by the pope, may lawfully be deposed and murdered by their subjects; that no faith is to be kept with heretics; and that the church may dispense with moral duties, or absolve a person from heinous sins.

Meanwhile the *innovators* of Ireland attempted, so early as 1792, to attain their objects by a military force. Money was raised by subscription to arm and embody a number of men, in the metropolis, under the title of national guards. Preparations for a general muster of these guards were made; but government judiciously determined to suppress, in their infancy, all armed associations not authorised by the state. Intimidated by the firmness of the governing power, made known by proclamation, the muster did not take place; the heads of the society, however, published a manifesto,

exhorting the volunteers to resume their arms, and advising the protestants to choose deputies for the provincial assemblies, preparative to a general convention, which they declared necessary to form a common cause with that of the Romanists. Several were the victims of their enthusiastic feelings on this occasion. Were we possessed of the ability, it would be tedious, as well as unnecessary, to trace the motives of the various individuals who were the principal contrivers and promoters of this conspiracy; and which, in a short space of time, spread its ramifications throughout the kingdom, endangering, in its course, the established government. Doubtless, the motives were mingled and various, as in all political revolutions; and it would be uncandid not to believe, that a pure spirit of patriotism incited some who might think, in the generous enthusiasm of their own feelings, that a new government, tending effectually to the amelioration of the national condition, might be effected, even without bloodshed. But alas! how easily are such generous souls deceived in their calculations; they recollect not that the many understand not those passions they feel animating their own heart. Crimes of every description, even those useless to the cause adopted, are dictated by the ferocious enthusiasm of an excited populace. He therefore, who wishes to obtain influence in periods of political crisis, must identify himself with the multitude. "He feels not," says a great writer, "the panic terrors which spring from ignorance; but he must minister to the hideous sacrifices which it requires." Perhaps there cannot be a greater proof of the habitual disunion of the Irish people, which had so often defeated the best concerted plans for their welfare, than the circumstance, that while the conductors of the general

association were endeavouring to combine all their countrymen, without distinction of sect, in one political band, the chiefs of that persuasion predominating in zeal, as well as numbers, planned an association apparently co-operating, and even constituting, a part of the former, but suspected of entertaining very different views. This association was called the Catholic Convention. A merchant of the name of Byrne, a member of a secret committee of catholics, which had subsisted some years in the metropolis of Ireland, issued a sort of writ to the parish priests of that communion throughout the kingdom for the election of deputies, to compose an assembly representative of the entire body of Roman catholics. We learn from Gordon, that two deputies were chosen in each parish by the majority of all the adult males of the congregation assembled at the Romish chapel, the parochial deputies of each barony chose in like manner two baronial deputies out of their own body, and the baronial deputies of each county two representatives, all of whom, together with the representatives of cities and towns corporate similarly chosen, composed the catholic convention, public as to its assembly, but *profoundly secret* in its deliberations. By the authority of this assembly and its permanent representative the committee (composed of nine of its number), great sums were assessed and regularly levied on the Romanists, the whole mass of whom submitted implicitly to the orders of this their supreme council, as of the most firmly established government. This assembly prepared a petition to the king, and a deputation headed by Mr. Byrne carried it to London. They obtained introduction to the king, who received it graciously. The protestants of Ireland were invited to meet in their respective counties, and to de-

clare their opinions respecting the emancipation requested by their catholic fellow citizens. The protestants met accordingly, and declared their disapprobation of indulgences beyond those which had already been granted to the petitioners. In consequence of this the king recommended the relief of his catholic subjects to his two houses of parliament in Ireland. The jealousies of the parties were greatly augmented by this proceeding: the influence of the crown prevailed in both houses upon the subject.

The mischiefs of blending civil and religious opinions together now began to be manifest. Whatever were the ultimate plans of the leaders of the catholic party, the lower classes appeared evidently to identify the ideas of a political revolution, and the exclusive establishment of their own church. Elated in the expectation of such an event, the sentiments of the people were in several instances betrayed, and some commotions took place, but were easily suppressed. In 1795 warm debates took place in the British house of commons on the affairs of Ireland. The catholics had flattered themselves of a grant of further emancipation, not included in the concessions of 1793, and it is said that Earl Fitzwilliam, on his appointment to the lord lieutenancy, had countenanced the catholic leaders with promise of support: the earl was abruptly recalled, and Earl Camden nominated his successor. The discontents of the catholics were greatly increased by this measure, and disturbances took place in several parts of the nation.

During this state of public ferment it may well be supposed the society of United Irishmen were upon the alert. Their endeavours were unceasing to inflame and poison the minds of their deluded countrymen by the dissemination of democratic

publications, adapted to the range of their understanding and addressed to their passions. That the overthrow of the existing system of government and the erection of the Irish nation into an independent republic, unconnected with England and not merely a reform in parliament, was the object of this society, at least of the majority of its members, is clearly proved by the engagements they entered into, as they are all of a direct revolutionary cast. One of these documents is as follows, it is entirely illustrative of our assertion.

"In the present great era of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe, when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience, when the rights of man are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind, when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our duty as Irishmen to come forward and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

"*We have no national government:* we are ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, whose strength is the weakness of Ireland, and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to seduce and subdue the honesty and spirit of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extensive power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by unanimity, decision, and

spirit in the people—qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally, and efficaciously by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, an equal representation of all the people in parliament."

But independent of the language of this declaration there is abundant evidence to prove the extent of the revolutionary frenzy at this period among the Irish reformers, and too many causes of discontent arose from various species of oppression, serving to irritate rather than soften the moral malady. In 1796 the chiefs of the society made application to the French government, and an invasion of Ireland was promised by the latter for the subversion of the British power in Ireland. The vigilance of government however penetrated this design of internal and external hostility, and the executive administration was invested with augmented power to counteract it: as must ever be the case when the governing and the governed pursue different interests, acts of severity on the one part excited the determination of resistance on the other. Hence the lower classes, to obtain arms like the defenders, assembled in the night and disarmed those whom they regarded as adherents to government; and in the prosecution of their designs various species of violence were committed. In the mean time, in despite of the enforcement of a proclamation against these outrages, the united Irish of Ulster would have obtained and certainly employed the means of insurrection, if the French forces had effected their landing at Bantry Bay. This was prevented by a storm, which divided the fleet, said to have contained an army of fifteen thousand men, and the exertion of the society to second this invasion was prevented by a remarkable inconsistency of intelligence referring to it. A systematic con-

tinuance of outrages occasioned of course an increased determination to suppress them; a proclamation was issued enjoining all persons, not empowered to keep arms by government, to surrender them and ammunition to the commanding officers in their respective vicinities: this measure however was found an inadequate remedy for the evil. The civil power was then declared not adequate to the preservation of peace, and the martial law was deemed necessary; much misery, discontent, and disorder ensued, but order was at length restored throughout Ulster, the administration was again vested in the civil power.

Mean time several changes took place in the organization of the society of United Irishmen, adapted to the circumstances which excited their attention. This society has justly been said to have composed "an artfully framed union," the component parts of which it does not seem necessary here to specify; suffice it to say, that it was a great revolutionary machine which speedily and accurately put in motion many lesser operations in the political world. To form a fund for the various expenses attendant on the operations of this great engine, monthly subscriptions were collected in the several societies, and treasurers appointed by suffrage for their collection and disbursement. From this fund also was derived supplies to remunerate the emissaries employed to extend the union and to disseminate the principles which were to form the bond which attached them. These political missionaries were directed to work on the passions, the prejudices, and the feelings of those to whom they addressed themselves, and where ability was found, to supply with books to keep alive the impression made by oral communication. What were the arguments used may well be imagined by those who

have witnessed that tremendous revolution which, in another country, levelled the distinctions of right and wrong, let loose the basest propensities of the human heart, and abandoned men to the maddening violence of their own passions, while principles were trampled under foot, which never can be prostrated with impunity.

Inconsistently with the original plan of the United Irishmen great pains were taken to revive and exasperate the ancient religious antipathy of the catholics against their protestant fellow subjects, and the means resorted to for this purpose were similar to those it has been our painful duty so often to record during the progress of this retrospect. Societies of orangemen, as the protestant parties were called, took their first rise in the county of Armagh, where a mortal feud originating, it is said, from a private quarrel, had subsisted since 1785, between the lowest class of the presbyterians and Romanists, (see Gordon,) and this antipathy was manifested by various cruel outrages.

For self-preservation the protestants of Armagh, in the year 1795, formed associations under the denomination of Orangemen, a denomination derived from William Prince of Orange, who having rescued the protestants of Ireland had given them the ascendency. Thus was religious hatred extending its baneful influence over the unhappy country, each assuming some fair ostensible reason for the acts suggested by their private opinions. The poison which the revolutionists had infused into the breasts of the ignorant and the simple, was soon made apparent by its deleterious effects.

Too many causes of complaint existed, so to give ample subject to the declamations of the reformers forcibly to act upon the feelings of the

populace; the tithes, that ever prominent feature in the picture of discontent and oppression, were represented in a view all could too well understand, and the fair prospect of their abolition was held out to tempt the unguarded peasantry to enter into their deep laid designs.

While the emissaries of the union thus aroused and interested the feelings of the peasantry with respect to tithes, they were not less assiduous and artful in their endeavours to prejudice the opinions of the laity in general against every part of the ecclesiastical establishment. They argued that the vast expenses of this establishment were useless for the purposes of religion or the encouragement or support of literature, since preferments were given solely from temporal or political motives, without regard to moral character or literary merit. Thus arguing against the use by the abuse of the institution, and pointing out solitary instances as the evils of the entire system; to persons unused or unable to form just distinctions they easily excited an unconquerable and decided prejudice against the objects of their insinuations. Though the precautions of the legislature had circumscribed the liberty of the press, still means were found to employ this all-powerful engine to the augmentation of the popular feeling. One extract from a paper which was privately printed and industriously circulated we extract from Gordon's History, as it sufficiently illustrates the spirit of those who called themselves patriots and the friends of their country.

"Let the indignation of man be raised against the impious wretch who profanely assumes the title of *reigning by the grace of God*, and impiously tells the world *he can do no wrong*. Irishmen! is granting a patent and offering premiums to murderers to depopulate your country and take your

properties no wrong? Is taking a part of the spoil no wrong? Is the foreign despot incapable of wrong who sharpens the sword that deprives you of life, and exposes your children to poverty and all its consequent calamities? O man, or rather less, O king! will the smothered groans of my countrymen, who, in thy name, fill the innumerable dungeons you have made, for asserting the rights of man, be considered no wrongs? Will enlightened Irishmen believe you incapable of wrong who offer up the most amiable of mankind daily on the scaffold or the gibbet to thy insatiable ambition? Is burning the villages of what you call your people and shooting the trembling sufferers no wrong? Is taking the church into partnership and encouraging its idle and voluptuous drones to despoil industry of its reward, and teach a lying doctrine to sanction their injustice, no wrong? Are the continual wars you engender and provoke to destroy mankind no wrong? Go impious blasphemer and your hypocritical sorcerers to the fate philosophy, justice, and liberty consign thee. It is inevitable; thy impositions are detected; thy kind have been brought to justice; the first professor of thy trade has recently bled for the crimes of the craft, his idle and vain followers, who escaped the national axe, are walking memorials of justice, begging a miserable livelihood over those countries whose tottering thrones encourage but an uncertain asylum. Ere the grave which is opening for thy despised person, embosoms thee, make one atonement for the vices of thy predecessors, resist not the claims of a people reduced to every misery in thy name, give back the properties that thy nation wrested from a suffering people, and let the descendants of those English ruffians restore to Irishmen their country, and to their country liberty; 'tis rather late to trifle, one

fortunate breeze may do it, woe to him who was a tyrant or who is unjust." Such was the nature of the revolting and seditious publications with which the demagogues of faction sought to poison the principles and irritate the feelings of a people constitutionally ardent, impetuous, and thoughtless, and suffering under physical privation, with a small prospect of relief.

The effects were what might be expected; before the conclusion of 1797, the peasantry in the central and southern counties were almost universally sworn into the conspiracy, and fully prepared for insurrection. Various plans to embarrass the government were formed and carried into effect. Such was the interdiction of spirituous liquors, in order to diminish the revenue; the caution against purchasing the quit-rents of the crown, which it was proposed to sell to raise supplies; and the obstructions to the circulation of bank notes. These animosities were couched in language adapted to the capacities of the populace, and teemed with superficial arguments they could not fail to understand. Many attempts were made to seduce the army; hand-bills were circulated among the troops, peculiarly directed against their better feelings, and calculated to cloud the judgment, while they excited the passions to the frenzy of revolt.

While thus every engine of internal opposition to the constituted government was put into dangerous action, a constant intercourse with the demoralised French was maintained by the Irish directory. To follow the steps of this intrigue is unnecessary; it is sufficient to say, that in October of the year 1796, an accredited messenger from France arrived in Ireland, announcing the design of an invasion, with an army of fifteen thousand men. It is well known that it

was attempted, and proved abortive, at Bantry Bay. A subsequent designed attempt was gloriously defeated in 1797, by a squadron of British vessels, under the command of Lord Viscount Duncan.

This double disappointment did not, however, discourage the party, and every preparation was made to receive the expected succours from France. Even instructions in detail were issued from the military committee to the adjutants general, concerning the modes of preparing for open warfare against government, and various measures were taken to augment, in every way, the strength of the conspiracy.

While the chiefs of the United Irish thus proceeded in their plans, resolved, if possible, to avoid insurrection, till the expected arrival of their French supplies, the government, on the other side, was determined, if possible, to disorganise their complicated system, and to destroy the conspiracy, before an event, which bid so fair to ensure the success of the party, should take place. In pursuance of this determination, many acts of power took place, the most important of which was the arrest of thirteen members of the provincial committee of Leinster. The vacancies made in the directory by the arrest of these individuals, as well as other persons, were quickly filled, but with persons less fitted to effect the arduous plans proposed. The measures of government, although they tended to weaken the conspiracy, were however far from destroying its force, or adequate to prevent its final success; the organization was too complete, and the designs too artfully formed, to yield to the usual methods of suppression; they produced only partial effects on the political, or rather revolutionary hydra, which, in various instances, boldly

displayed its formidable aspect, to the terror of the districts it disturbed.

At length recourse was again had to proclamation and military execution. The army was ordered to proceed to the disturbed counties, and the commander invested with full power to act according to his discretion, for the attainment of the proposed object; the military orders were accordingly prompt and decisive. In such a disturbed state of society, it may readily be supposed that many aggressions on both sides were continually occurring; in fact, so various and great were the vexations attendant on the maintenance of the soldiers at free quarters, and many acts of severity produced by various causes, that they amounted to such a degree of disquietude and distress, that all exhortations of patience from the leaders proved utterly vain with their wretched instruments, the lower classes. With the characteristic impatience of evil distinguishing them, many surrendered their arms, and confessed the means of their seduction, as well as betrayed their seducers. These defections alarmed the chiefs of the union, and fearing the utter disorganization of their society, and the destruction of their force before the arrival of their auxiliaries, they determined to try their unassisted strength against government, and immediate plans for the purpose were digested by the military committee of the union.

It is to be regretted that the great severity of the government measures, at this period of political excitement and national peril, tended strongly to confirm the prejudices already too much excited by the emissaries of sedition. To enter into a detail of disorders inseparable from such an agitated state of national feeling, would carry us beyond our proposed limits. By many arrests, and other precautions, an insur-

rection which was planned to commence on the night of the 23d of May, was frustrated; the plot had been announced late in the evening of the 21st, by a letter from the secretary of the lord lieutenant to the lord mayor of Dublin, and on the 22nd, by a message from the lord lieutenant to both houses of parliament. To prevent its execution, the regular troops, the militia, and the yeomanry, were disposed under arms in the most advantageous positions. By these means the capital was preserved in tranquillity; but in the neighbouring counties, notwithstanding the disorganization of the confederacy by the operations of government, insurgents assembled in many places, and during that night and following day several skirmishes were fought. Naas was attacked, but was effectually defended; some other garrisons did not so well resist the rebels, but in some parts they were routed with loss. The scenes of horror consequent to this display of national frenzy may be imagined. At Gatherlagh, four hundred of these miserable and deluded men were encompassed and massacred! In Ulster the insurrection was soon quelled, but in other districts it was far otherwise. In places where the insurgents were successful, a tumultuous exultation was manifested, and false intelligence was conveyed from post to post to inspire the revolters. Multitudes of women followed in the train of the rebel troops, who, with shouts and cries of "Down with the Orangemen," kept up the daring spirit so terribly excited, and clearly marked, that the object of the insurrection, at its very commencement, was, in the minds of the lower orders at least, not the restitution of civil rights, but the destruction of the heretics. In the spirit of this frantic zeal, several murders were committed.

During this state of cruel alarm, the situation

of the loyalists was most distressing; they in terror abandoned their possessions to the rapacity of the rebel foe, and in their fugitive state must have perished, but for the supply of provisions from the military stores. War being thus decidedly and openly commenced by the conspirators, the strongest measures of coercion were become necessary on the part of the government. The loyal troops in general, during this civil contest, prevailed by superiority of arms and discipline, but on some occasions were repelled by the desperate courage of the rebels. One of the first steps of government was to issue a proclamation, giving notice that orders were conveyed to all his majesty's general officers serving in Ireland, to punish according to martial law, by death or otherwise, as their judgment should approve, all persons acting, or in any way assisting in the rebellion. "The effects of this procedure," says the writer from whom we extract, "the necessity of which marked the calamitous condition of the country, were quickly felt by great numbers of the lower, and some of the higher classes of the people." Many fell sacrifices to the confusion and precipitance which necessarily attends a trial by military law in the rage of a rebellion, and paid the forfeit of their lives, which might have proved useful and honourable to their country, had they not given way to a tide of political theories, the fatal practical consequences of which they perceived not, or forgot. In this terrible scene of civil distraction, the incaution and vain confidence of the insurgents were continually manifested, sufficiently exemplifying the delusion which deranged their judgment, and almost proving, that a revolution suspends every power but that of force.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Rebels murmur—Instance of undue military ardour—Insurrection in Wexford—John Murphy raises the standard of rebellion—Excesses and distresses—Rebels attack Enniscorthy—Town fired—Garrison forced to abandon it—Distress of the fugitives—Wexford an insecure asylum—The place evacuated—Retreat to Duncannon—Gorey abandoned, dreading the rebels—Father Kern—Attack Bunclody—Rebels repelled—Victory important in its consequences—Habits of the rebels—Distressed state of the country—Affair of New Ross—Insurgents suffer—Superstition of the common people—Affair of Arklow—War religious—Rebels act on the defensive—Their principal post on Vinegar Hill—Father Philip Roche—The royal army force the head quarters of the rebels—Surprise a force under Roche—Dreadful situation of the protestants—Pleasing instance of the humanity of Philip Roche—Army commanded to march to Vinegar Hill—The attack—Non-attendance of one division of the army—The rebels escape by the opening—Enniscorthy relieved; and also Wexford—Horrible massacres—Comparative quiet of Ulster—Affair of Ballinahinch—Rebels at length disperse—Wexford insurgents, their operations, they are finally dispersed—Conclusion of the rebellion—Quiet of the capital—Punishment of the rebels—Earl Cornwallis—Treaty between the government and rebel chiefs—Its non-fulfilment—Predatory bands—Cruel policy—Losses of the loyalists—Sufferings of the country, and fatal effects of rebellion.

A. D. 1798.

At length discouraged by defeat, the rebels began to murmur and to wish for permission to retire in safety to their homes, in order to resume their several occupations. This disposition to surrender was however attended with many melancholy results, in consequence of an undue military ardour excited against them. One illustrative instance

only among very many we shall name, wherein this ardour was manifested. A protestant clergyman had fallen into the power of the insurgents, and had been saved from slaughter by the humane interference of a Catholic priest. Having been thus spared by the rebels, he was deemed a rebel by the soldiery. Under this impression they were proceeding instantly to hang him, when they were in a critical moment prevented by the interference of his brother in law.

But the raging flame of rebellion yet found ample combustible materials to keep it in terrible and destructive action. An insurrection broke out in a quarter where it was least expected, and quickly attained such a formidable aspect as to excite the most just and serious alarms. In the county of Wexford many of the catholic inhabitants had protested their loyalty, and pledged themselves to arm if permitted in defence of government, whenever occasion rendered their services desirable. But a small military force was stationed in this county, while an injudicious and severe system of coercion was followed by the magistrates in regard to suspected persons. The defence of the county was almost depending on the troops of yeomen and their supplementaries, and most of them being protestants were prejudiced against the catholics, of whose cruelty in Ireland tradition and probably individual family suffering had informed them. Some papers found in the pockets of some prisoners excited the fears which prejudice easily admitted, as these papers contained some of the ancient sanguinary doctrines of the Romish church, which authorised the extermination of heretics. The apprehensions awakened by these documents, acting upon minds already deeply prejudiced, produced actions but ill calculated to allay religious hatred or to still the tumult

of rebellion. It is not our province to say, if in the then state of the unhappy kingdom rebellion would have agitated Wexford if no acts of aggression and severity had occurred, but certainly it is to be lamented that they were thought necessary.

However this question may be decided as to the probability of a different issue under different conduct, we have to record the distressing fact, that the standard of rebellion was raised between Gorey and Wexford in May 1798, and that by a minister of peace, John Murphy, a Romish priest of Boulavogue, and familiarly known by the name of Father John.* This man (says Gordon), coad-

* The journal of this priest was found on the field of battle at Arklow, by Lieutenant Colonel Bainbridge, of the Durham Fencible Cavalry, and was sent by him to General Needham; it is a curious document.

"Saturday night. May 26, at 6 A. M., began the republic of Ireland, in Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, barony of Gorey, and parish of Kilcormick, commanded by the Rev. Dr. Murphy, parish priest of the same parish, in the aforesaid parish; when all the protestants in that parish were disarmed, and among the aforesaid, a bigot, named Thomas Bootrey, who lost his life by his rashness, 26th. From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, where the republic attacked a minister's house for arms, and was denied of; laid siege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces; they the same day burned his house, and all the orangemen's houses in that and in all the adjoining parishes in that part of the country. The same day a part of the army, to the amount of a hundred and four of infantry, and two troops of cavalry, attacked the republic on Oulart Hill, when the military were repulsed with the loss of a hundred and twelve men, and the republic had four killed; and then went to a hill called Corrigna, where the republic encamped that night; and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without resistance, and the same day took another town and *sate* of a bishop. At three in the afternoon of the same day they laid siege to Enniscorthy, when they were opposed by an army of seven hundred men, where they were forced to set both ends of the town on fire, and then took the town in the space of an hour, and then encamped

jutor or assistant curate of the parish priest, was a man of shallow intellect, a fanatic in religion, and from the latter circumstance too well qualified to raise to a dangerous height the superstitious prejudices of the ignorant multitude. From this commencement of hostility the commotion spread rapidly on every side, while the collection of rebel parties was greatly increased by the influence of reports disseminated, of numbers of people being shot in the roads, in the fields, and even in their habitations, unoffending and unarmed, by strag-

on a hill, near the town called Vinegar-hill.

Dated this 26th.

Boy Bulger,
Darby Murphy,
(His hand and pen.)

Some of the rebels who escaped this bloody conflict, in their forcible way of expressing themselves, said, speaking of the slaughter of the soldiery among them, "By Jasus, they mowed us down by the acre!" No political ebullition ever takes place without a manifestation of the noble as well as the ignoble passions of our nation. It is in the great collision of interests that the hearts of men unfold themselves. A pleasing instance occurs to the recollection of the writer as illustrative of the remark. During the Irish rebellion, a protestant who was a prisoner in the hands of the rebels, was called out to be executed; the executioner ordered him to turn his back, the prisoner refused, calmly declaring he was not afraid to face death, and just as the former was about to fire at him, the latter told him to stop, and requested to be dispatched with dexterity, at the same time pulling off his hat, coat, and waistcoat, which were new, he threw them to the executioner, as a present to favour him with a speedy death. The man was so impressed with this undaunted conduct of his prisoner, that he declared his conviction that he must be innocent, and actually refused to kill him; in consequence of this, another rebel rushed forward to put an end to the existence of the hated protestant, upon which the executioner sware he would lay breathless the first man who attempted to hurt him, and immediately conducted him in safety out of the rebel army. Many other similar instances of the triumph of the better feelings might be adduced if necessary.

gling parties of yeomen. To relate the excesses which ensued, would but harrow up the feelings of our readers, it is only here necessary to say that the original causes of contention appeared lost in forgetfulness, and that a frantic religious animosity appeared to animate the adverse parties.

In a skirmish which took place at an early period of this Wexford rebellion many rebels were pursued and killed while the yeomen exasperated by the death of an officer, burned two Romish chapels and about a hundred cabins and farm-houses of Romanists in the short march of seven miles. This will give some idea of the devastation of this terrible strife. The country exhibited a scene of distress and consternation it is impossible to describe. Houses in flames, the inhabitants flying on every side in search of an asylum, some to the towns, others to the hills, while the rebels under Father John flushed with victory perpetually gained fresh accessions. They took possession of a small town six miles westward of Gorey, the loyal inhabitants of which had taken refuge in the latter, and thence advanced to Ferns two miles further, whence the loyalists had fled to Enniscorthy to which they were followed by the rebels. These attacked the place, making use of the ancient mode of harrassing the enemy by driving a number of cattle before them, raising loud and terrible shouts, as on such occasions was their custom, they made a furious and irregular onset. A scene of distress and confusion ensued. To render the town untenable, it was fired in many places by the disaffected part of the inhabitants, some of whom even aimed shots from the windows at the garrison. The success of the day was for a long time so fluctuating, that many persons to avoid the fury of each prevailing party in turn alternately displayed the orange and green ribbon.

At length the enemy prevailed, and the garrison after a gallant defence of some hours abandoned the town, retreating in disorder to Wexford. Most of the loyal inhabitants of the place also, and very many others who had resorted thither for protection fled through the flames toward Wexford, the calmness of the atmosphere providentially favouring their escape through the burning streets. Description must fail to picture the terror and distress of these unfortunate fugitives flying from an infuriate enemy. "Women," says the historian of this terrible rebellion, "habituated to all the indulgence which an affluent fortune affords, not only fled on foot, but also in that situation carried their children on their backs to Wexford the distance of fourteen English miles, and one actually waded twice through the river Slaney under the fire of both parties and escaped with one child unhurt. She was obliged to leave six children behind her in the burning town! Had not the circumstances of the weather and their not being pursued favoured the escape of these fugitives, it is but too certain they would have been destroyed. Some who found no opportunity of escape, were immediately sacrificed to the fury of the assailants, or imprisoned and reserved for future butchery. Those who had sought a refuge in Wexford were far from being in safety. The place commanded by hills on all sides was indefensible against artillery, supplied as it was only with a garrison of six hundred men, while the force of the rebels amounted to fifteen thousand, independent of a strong force left at Enniscorthy.

To complete the depression and distress consequent upon these circumstances, a number of disaffected yeomen deserted to the stronger side, and many were suspected of waiting their opportunity within the town to cooperate with those

without. Under these adverse circumstances the commanding officer thought himself obliged to evacuate the place, and two deputies were sent to the rebels, to prevent their acting as if the town had been taken by storm. The army retreated to Duncannon, accompanied by such of the loyalists and refugees from other places as were willing and able to perform the march of twenty-three miles.

While all the southern parts of the county of Wexford were in this state of horrible commotion, the northern was also frightfully agitated. The inhabitants of Gorey abandoned the place in terror and dismay, dreading the rapid approach of a furious enemy. A body of rebels consisting of five thousand men was commanded by several chiefs among whom was Father Kern, a man of extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity, they attacked a beautiful little town in the north of Wexford, but by an accidental manœuvre were repelled. We name this attack and victory, as it was of infinite importance at this critical juncture to the loyalists; as had the rebels taken Bunclody it would have opened a passage for them into the county of Carlow. And if, as is most probable, the inhabitants had united and co-operated with them, as the country was circumstanced it might have been subversive of all the efforts of government.

Gordon gives the following account of the habits of the rebels in this terrible warfare. "Hills of commanding prospect were always chosen for their stations or posts. These posts they termed camps, though they were destitute of tents except a few for their chiefs. The people remained in the open air in vast multitudes, men and women promiscuously, some lying covered with blankets at night, and some without any covering than the

clothes which they wore in the day. This mode of warfare was favoured by an uninterrupted continuance of dry and warm weather, to such a length of time as is very unusual in Ireland at that season, or any season of the year. This was regarded by the rebels as a particular interposition of Providence in their favour, and some among them are said to have declared in a prophetic tone, that not a drop of rain was to fall until they should be masters of all Ireland. On the other hand the same was considered by the fugitive loyalists as a merciful favour from heaven, since bad weather must considerably have augmented their distress, and caused many to perish. It may well be imagined that in these semi-barbarous encampments the greatest disorder prevailed. In nothing were they more irregular than in the preparation of their food, many of them cutting pieces at random out of cattle scarcely dead, without waiting to flay them, and roasting the pieces so obtained on the points of their pikes, even with parts of the hide adhering. The heads of the cattle were seldom eaten, but were generally left to rot on the ground, as often large pieces of the carcasses. The hardiness and agility of the lower classes of the Irish were continually and strikingly displayed in the course of this rebellion. Their swiftness of foot, and activity in passing over bogs, brooks, and ditches, was so remarkable, that it was sometimes impossible for horsemen to overtake them, and their physical strength was singularly proved by the difficulty found to kill them, the tenacity of life being so strong, that a multitude of stabs did not quench the vital spark, and many desperately wounded recovered with an astonishing facility. The state the country was reduced to, is affectingly illustrated by the following incident.

After one of the battles in the south of Wexford two yeomen coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion as if some person was concealed there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by the piteous and loud cry of a child; the other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire, but being of less ferocious habits and disposition, instead of firing commanded the concealed persons to appear, when a poor woman with eight children almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake where they had concealed themselves for safety. At New Ross the malcontents suffered severely, for in a fruitless assault upon that town a great number lost their lives. The engagement lasted above ten hours. Several acts of horrid cruelty occurred during the transactions of this bloody day, proving the dreadful power of party to destroy the dictates of conscience, and the searing effect of fanaticism on the heart of man.

Indeed, such was the avowed stimulus of the rebel troops, that the priests possessed the full influence over their actions. Nor are we to be surprised at this; from their ignorance, their apprehension of moral obligations must be vague and defective, and this is undoubtedly increased by the doctrines taught in the Romish church concerning absolution; a doctrine easily comprehended, and, if not, from habit implicitly believed and followed. Thus the priests, by their habitual and allowed government in spiritual matters, had naturally the predominant sway, more especially those whose rage of bigotry was most violent and conspicuous. Hence great numbers of the rebels acknowledged no other leader than Father John Murphy, the fanatic who first raised the standard of rebellion in Wexford. We

need no further proof of the abject superstition of the lower orders of the Irish at this period of national agitation than their firm belief that this priest and also his brother were invulnerable by bullets or any kind of weapon. To confirm them in this belief, Father Michael Murphy frequently showed his ignorant and deluded followers musket balls which he avowed he caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of his enemies. This priest was, however, killed by a cannon shot in the attack of Arklow while he was leading his people on.

The repulse at Arklow, although not the most bloody, was perhaps the most important of this terrible war. It would seem to have decided the fate of the rebellion, and thus happily left undecided how far religious animosity would eventually have carried the individuals engaged. The war from the very commencement had taken a religious turn; a consequence which might be foreseen by all who reflected upon the peculiar opinions and prejudices of the population. Actuated by real or fancied zeal, and a sense of oppression, a desperate impulse was given to the passions of the people, and it was apparently a subject of indifference to them whether they perished by fire, sword, the arm of the law, or the miseries they endured in the contest against those who questioned their rights and contemned their religion, to defend the supremacy of which, they were taught would entitle them to temporal and eternal reward.

After the repulse at Arklow the rebels were obliged to act on the defensive. They had not yet given up hope of French succour, and they endeavoured to maintain several ports in expectation of this aid, which assuredly would give a favourable turn to their affairs. The great station

of the revolters was on Vinegar Hill, an eminence at the base of which the town of Enniscorthy is situated. It was determined by the loyalist army to force the head quarters of the rebel host, attacking it at the same moment from different quarters, one detachment to make an attack on Enniscorthy. A man called Father Philip Roach had been chosen by tumultuous election general of part of the rebel troops, who, by his commanding stature and boisterous manners, was well calculated to direct the motions of the disorderly bands who selected him for their leader. The march of the royal army surprised the force under the command of this priestly general. They fled in confusion, leaving much plunder behind them. Separating into two bodies, one of which took its way to Wexford, the other to Vinegar Hill, they joined the Wexford insurgents, who were there concentrating their forces.

This eminence, rendered interesting as the scene of events so intimately affecting the destiny of the devoted country of which it forms a part, had with the town of Enniscorthy been some weeks in the possession of the rebels. It was during this period that the horrid nature of fanaticism was fully developed. Horrors indescribable and apprehensions the most terrible agitated the hapless protestants who had not effected their escape from this devoted spot. Living where they were sought out and seized, a few immediately murdered, but most conveyed to Vinegar Hill, where they were immolated at the shrine of popular and religious fury with every refinement of cruelty.

It is stated by a writer deserving of the utmost credit that five hundred persons were thus butchered in this fatal station, and the bloody list would have assuredly been even much larger had

not in many instances individual humanity or friendship generously interposed to arrest the raised hand of murderous zeal. It is worthy of observation as teaching us a lesson of candour, that Philip Roach, in appearance so fierce and sanguinary, saved many persons by his interference. A pleasing illustration of this fact is given by Gordon. Two brothers in a respectable situation of life being seized and conveyed to Vinegar Hill, some of the catholic tenants anxious for their safety hastened to Roach's quarters at Lachen, and begged his assistance. He immediately sent an express to bring the two prisoners to Lachen, pretending to have charges of a criminal nature against them, for which they should be tried. The cruel miscreants on Vinegar Hill, who were preparing to butcher these unoffending men, though they were advanced in years and unimpeachable with any crime but that of protestantism, on receipt of Roach's orders relinquished their prey, not doubting but that death awaited them at Lachen. But Roach, whose object was to snatch these innocent men from the jaws of the bloodhounds, immediately on their arrival at his quarters gave them written protections, and sent them to their homes, where they were soon after in danger of being hanged by the king's troops, who were too ready to pronounce disloyal such as had been spared by the rebel parties.

The army commanded to march from different quarters to surround the rebel post on Vinegar Hill, constituted in the whole amount, a force of thirteen thousand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery. The attack began early in the morning. All the troops were in their appointed posts except one corps, which did not arrive till three hours after the commencement of the attack. The rebels after sustaining the fire of the artillery for

an hour and a half, abandoned their station through the passage unfortunately left by the non-attendance of the division appointed to it. Many hundreds were killed, and among them not a few protestant loyalists, who had been taken prisoners by the rebels, and in the confusion now shared their fate. The precipitation of the flight caused the rebels to leave behind them a large quantity of rich plunder and their cannon. Enniscorthy thus recovered, many loyalists in it were relieved from a state of terror and distress which may perhaps be imagined but not described. Many acts of cruelty occurred, too common when the baneful spirit of religious and party spirit actuate a people. Wexford was also relieved on the same day, after an action vigorously kept up for some hours; the rebels were repulsed with considerable slaughter, and it was remarked that it was fought by the rebels with great military skill, so apt had they been in acquiring their knowledge of tactics, and resolution to put it in practice.

The loyalists of Wexford while in the power of the insurgents had been in a state of cruel and incessant fear. Numbers of protestants had assembled at this place as a refuge, with prisoners from different parts of the country; of these many were confined in the gaol, others detained prisoners in their houses in perpetual dread of some cruel death; for what could they expect from individuals credulous to absurdity, debased by superstition, inflamed, and ferocious? and that such was the general character of the rebels there is abundant evidence to prove, though there are very many honourable exceptions recorded. The blood curdles however, to read of the horribly atrocious massacres of Enniscorthy and Wexford, many of them equalled those which have fixed eternal infamy on the agents of French *regenera-*

tion. It is related that at Wexford when ninety-seven men had been butchered with horrible solemnity, the slaughter which had commenced at two in the afternoon, was abruptly interrupted at seven by the interference of Father Curran, who announced the alarming intelligence that the post of Vinegar Hill was beset by the king's troops, and that reinforcements were required in that quarter. Father Curran having in vain supplicated the assassins to desist from their work of death, commanded them to *pray* before they should proceed, and having thus caused them to kneel, dictated a prayer. That God should *show the same mercy to them, which they should show to the surviving prisoners.* The priest judiciously touched the only chord of feeling capable of responding in the bosoms of the fanatical butchers he addressed, self-interest. But as the impulse had been sudden, it would doubtless have been transient, had not the news of danger caused it still to vibrate. The alarm was announced aloud by a person arriving hastily in the town, which caused the multitude of spectators to disperse. The surviving captives were reconducted to prison by their guards, who swore horribly that the next day neither man, woman, nor child, of the protestants in Wexford should remain alive! While the surviving loyalists were rejoicing in their providential deliverance, tragic scenes were elsewhere acting. Mountains and other close recesses were now the retreats of the rebels expelled from Enniscorthy and Wexford, and those who remained armed endeavoured by rapid and devious movements from one position to another, to elude the king's forces and thus protract the war until the arrival of their French allies. While affairs were in this state of suspense in Wexford, the province of Ulster where the spirit of insurrection was supposed most active,

and was most dreaded, remained undisturbed excepting two districts, in which disorders were soon suppressed. This province furnished in these times of anarchy, an undoubted evidence of the benefits of national instruction, and the salutary influence of a rational religion. The people of Ulster are better educated, and possess a more genuine faith than other parts of the population of Ireland, hence the instances of plunder, devastation, and murder, bore no proportion to those which marked the insurrections of the south.

The rebels not discouraged by several defeats during what might be termed a guerilla war, reassembled a force of between four or five hundred men at Ballynahinch, near to, or in the very demesne of Lord Moira. Here a force of fifteen hundred men formed a junction to engage them. Both armies passed the night in preparation for battle. Early in the morning it began while the town was in flames, having been wantonly fired by the soldiery. The valour of the insurgents was displayed in the action, but the want of discipline deprived them of the advantages gained by courage. They became confused at a sudden movement of their adversaries, retreated to an eminence which they defended gallantly a long time, but at length gave way and dispersed in all directions. The main body retired to the mountains, where they soon separated or surrendered, returning to their several homes. During this partial but active insurrection, many lesser actions took place unnecessary to notice, but all contributing to the suppression of the rebellion. In the meanwhile the Wexford insurgents, who it will be recollected escaped towards that place from Vinegar Hill through the space left by the non-attendance of the brigade appointed to fill it, continued their active operations. To trace them

in their progress would be far beyond our ability, and tedious to the general reader, but it was during these last events of a warfare which spread ruin, misery, and desolation, throughout a country peculiarly favoured by nature, that innumerable instances were displayed of surprising physical strength, endurance of hardship, and mental vigour "well worthy" says their historian "of a better cause." After a series of engagements, marches and counter-marches, in which these qualities were manifested, the Wexfordian rebels were finally dispersed. Thus was terminated a bloody and desolating civil war, during which the capital enjoyed a tranquillity interrupted only by rumours of plots within and hostilities without. It was vigilantly guarded by a strong military force, consisting principally of the citizens formed into yeoman companies.

But the period was now arrived when those who had hurried on the path encompassed by destruction, were to be precipitated in the gulph to which it led, to be overwhelmed in the whirlpool they had themselves created. Trials and executions had indeed early commenced in the capital, following the discovery or suppression of the various local insurrections which had agitated the country. A judicious system of mercy was however adopted on the arrival of the Marquis Cornwallis, as lord lieutenant. Amongst those who suffered, there were many (as must always be the case in popular tumults) possessing the most amiable and useful qualities, but who, seduced by the meretricious glare of political regeneration, entered the dangerous arena of revolution, discovering too late that they had entered the lists at the head of an ungovernable mob, under the excitement of the worst and most outrageous human passions.

Justly has it been remarked, that an individual

who has been thus beguiled by an illusion to enter on the horrid activity of revolution, soon finds "he must immolate victims whom no interest leads him to fear, whom his character and feelings often prompt him to save. He must commit crimes without the excuse of seduction, be guilty even of atrocity at the command of a sovereign whom he has himself assisted to elevate, whose orders he could not foresee, and none of whose direful passions his enlightened soul can adopt."

Earl Cornwallis on his arrival in Ireland soon exhibited in the discharge of his high functions, by his activity and wisdom what might be regarded a phenomenon in the country where (as we have seen in the course of our retrospect) "the viceroyalty had too often been a sinecure and the viceroy a pageant of state."

In a few days a proclamation was issued authorizing his Majesty's generals to give protection to such insurgents as being simply guilty of rebellion should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements; and take the oath of allegiance. Every generous feeling gave sanction to this amnesty, on reflecting how many had been seduced by artifice, deluded by specious appearances, and forced into the horrors of rebellion by the powerful influence of unfortunate circumstances. A kind of treaty was entered into between the government and the chiefs of the United Irish, whereby an agreement was made that the latter, without being obliged to implicate any individual, should give all the information in their power concerning the internal transactions and foreign negociations of the society, and that those under sentence of death and others who chose to take the benefit of the treaty should be pardoned as to life, but be obliged to depart out of Ireland. (See Gordon's History.) Seventy-three persons signed a contract to this

effect, and in consequence of it several rebel chiefs who had hitherto remained in arms, surrendered their persons. Six principals of the Union also gave details on oath, in their examination before the secret committee of both houses. "Whatever (says Gordon) were the original terms of the contract, and by whatever subsequent events the contractors were influenced or affected, the principal prisoners (fifteen in number) were not liberated, and a power was reserved by ministers, to detain them in custody, at least during the continuance of the war with France." This non-fulfilment of agreement, from whatever cause it originates, affected not in the remotest manner the honour of Marquis Cornwallis, which remained unimpeached even by the boldest of the chiefs of the conspiracy.

For a considerable time after the termination of the rebellion, the country as might well be expected was annoyed by different predatory bands, who, concealing themselves in the retreats of the mountains and the woods, emerged suddenly from their haunts on the defenceless, perpetrating burnings and massacres before troops could arrive to intercept them. These massacres were mostly found to have proceeded from a spirit of religious hatred, and as the murderers could not be brought to justice, a cruel policy was resorted to check the horrid practice. Where any protestants were murdered by these banditti, a greater number of Romanists were put to death in the same neighbourhood by the yeomen. Such are the horrid sacrifices which fanaticism exacts! Such the crimes it seeks to justify! The burnings and plunderings of course augmented the desolation caused by the ravage of rebellion, which was in itself dreadful. The losses which the loyalists sustained were not however the work of the rebels

alone, great part of the damage was committed by the soldiery. It is asserted that the Hessians exceeded the other troops in the depredations, and many loyalists who had escaped from the rebels, were put to death by these foreigners.

The sufferings of the country during the dreary season of the winter following the rebellion, were beyond measure distressing. Nocturnal marauders completed the ruin and desolation rebellion had begun; one species of mischief was the burning of Romish chapels in the night, while the wretched inhabitants of the poor cabins were continually deprived of their provisions, beds, and frequently their scanty apparel, and left exposed to all the inclemencies of the severe season. In thus naming the violences committed, the natural concomitants of the commotions of civil warfare, and the subsidence of rebellious spirit, we mean not to infer any neglect on the part of the royal military forces, who, as far as possible, were the protectors of this harassed people. To estimate the losses and detriment the country sustained in this dreadful conspiracy, would be neither possible nor necessary; every generous compensation was made by government to the suffering loyalists. But the loss of property was, perhaps, the least evil resulting from this ill-fated revolt; if we add to the vast sum estimated as thus lost, that of lives, the neglect of industry, the idle turn given to the habits of men from warfare, the obstruction of commerce, interruption of credit, and, above all, the depravation of morals; we may form some faint idea of the magnitude of those evils inseparable with and flowing from a state of civil dissension and popular tumult, combined with religious prejudices.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Succours from France arrive at Killala—Small garrisons—French at first successful, but finally repulsed—Distresses created by this renewal of warfare—The behaviour of the French at Killala orderly and honourable—Bigotry and superstition of the lower orders of the Irish—Contempt of the French for the priests—Excesses of the Connaught rebels not great—Many tried—Bartholomew Teeling—Matthew Tone—Theobald Wolfe Tone—His trial and suicide—Proposed remedies—Legislative union of England and Ireland—Question agitated in the parliaments of both kingdoms—It is finally agreed upon: articles of the bill—It is not cordially received—First united parliament assembles at Westminster—The claims of the catholics alluded to—Changes in the Cabinet—Projected invasion—Spirit of the country—Ireland unquiet—Democratical opinions disseminated—Disturbance in Dublin—Murder of Lord Kilwarden and his nephew Mr. Wolfe—Insurrection suppressed by the military—The chief instigators suffer—Emancipation of the catholics—Their disabilities—The petition—The question agitated—Remark of the king—His determination—Ministry dismissed—Digression—Address to his majesty from Sion College—Also from the city of London—Circumstances apparently favourable to the catholic claims—The question is again agitated—Proceeds favourably, but the bill finally lost—Catholic petition—Observations—Catholic claims again discussed in parliament—Observations.

While the remnants of the political tempest were thus yet hovering over the country which its violence had devastated, the succours from France, so long and so anxiously expected, arrived at their destination. An expedition, under the command of General Humbert, landed at the Bay of Killala, in the north-west of Ireland, remote

from the scene of recent rebellion; and in a part of the island which had not yet exhibited signs of disaffection. The force consisted of a thousand men and seventy officers, conveyed in three frigates, which had sailed from Rochelle, on the 4th of August, 1798, with a design to invade the county of Donnegal, in which they were frustrated by contrary winds. The garrison of Killala, consisting only of fifty men, of whom a part were yeomen, attempted in vain to oppose the entrance of the French vanguard, and were compelled to flee with precipitation, leaving two of their number dead, and their two officers prisoners. We shall not enter into the detail of operations, as it will be sufficient to say that the French were successful in two engagements, but were subsequently obliged to surrender on the approach of a strong force. The Irish who had united with them were also defeated, and a subsequent defeat of another French fleet by Sir John Warren, prevented any further attempts of the enemy to add to the flame of Irish rebellion.

Various and great were the distresses produced by this renewal of warfare; but, as is justly remarked by a narrator of the scenes acted at Killala and elsewhere, during the progress of this contest, "The plague of war so often visits the world, that we are apt to listen to any description of it with the indifference of satiety; it is the actual inspection only that shows the monster in its proper and full deformity." The town of Killala was thirty-two days in the possession of the French and the rebels; the behaviour of the former is stated to have been honourable to them as gentlemen and soldiers, and the little army of invaders remarkable for "intelligence, activity, temperance, and patience." Fortunate was it for the inhabitants of Killala, and even for Ire-

land in general, that such was the character and conduct of the invaders, had it been otherwise, the county of Mayo would probably have exhibited similar scenes as had disgraced Wexford. The absurd bigotry of the lower orders of Ireland, would appear very inconsistent with the free notions of their French allies. It seems as if the spirit of party destroyed the influence of its fanaticism, or it would appear impossible that any zealous papist could come to any terms of agreement with men who openly boasted "that they had just driven Mr. Pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him so suddenly in Ireland." It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their service, declare that they were come to take arms for France and the *Blessed Virgin*. (*See Narrative of Transactions at Killala.*)

The French seemed to hold the priests, who engaged in the treasonable enterprise, in the utmost contempt, although to conciliate them seemed an act of policy, from their known influence over the population. The protestants of Killala enjoyed, under the protection of the French officers, the privilege of attending divine service every Sunday in the bishop's palace, commonly called the castle; the cathedral remained shut, and the catholics often threatened to take it for their own use, but were always restrained by the presence of these officers. It is a circumstance of which historic justice demands the mention, that during the time of this civil commotion in Connaught, not a drop of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels, except in the field of war. Much may be ascribed to the example and influence of the French, which went a great way to prevent sanguinary excesses. But not to this cause alone would it be just to ascribe the moderation and

forbearance we have named; for a large range of country lay at the mercy of the rebels for several days after the French power ceased. It may certainly be attributed, in no small degree, to the system of indulgence, which led the loyalists to make some concession to the feelings of men driven (it is admitted through their own conduct) from their dwellings, however wretched; and, under that impression, to abstain from those rigorous measures which had been too often practised, in order to destroy the organisation of conspiracy, and which too surely served to feed the fire of revenge in the sufferers. The evils, however, invariably attendant on rebellion, were sufficient to impress the actors and sufferers in this western rebellion, with the conviction, that uniting with the enemies of our country is not a matter of little moment, or a state we can safely trust to, or easily emancipate ourselves from, however we may find it fraught with misery, and teeming with continually increasing hazards and evils.

Numbers of the rebel chiefs and other insurgents were tried at Killala and elsewhere, and suffered the sentence of the law. Among these, the historian of the rebellion observes: "particular notice and particular compassion are due to two men, who, Irishmen by birth, had been in the military service of France before the invasion, had come into Ireland with the French fleet, and had, as well as the best of the French officers, used the most active exertions to save the lives and properties of loyalists. These men were Bartholomew Teeling, and Matthew Tone, whose steady humanity, made evident in their trials, and steady fortitude under sentence and execution, command our pity, and for their personal qualities, our esteem."

It may be considered one of the greatest evils of such popular insurrections, that they draw within their vortex men of this description, through the ardency of their feelings, thereby injuring the purity of our moral sense, for by blending our admiration and pity for the victims, with the licentiousness or baseness of the cause they have espoused, the distinctions of right and wrong are confused, while our horror of unlawful acts is diminished. The famous Theobald Wolfe Tone, a principal in the united society, and agent to the French, was also captured in the action of Admiral Warren, with the armament sent from Brest. He was on board the Hoche. Thus he who had by his activity and talents mainly contributed to give vitality to the formidable conspiracy, which received a fatal blow by the ill success of the French armament, could hardly be said to survive its fate. Tried by a court-martial, he rested his defence on being a denizen of France, an officer in the service of that country. He attempted not to deny the charge against him, nor to offer any plea in mitigation of his political conduct; so true is it that the spirit of party lays claim to glory from all those actions which men would labour to conceal, as tending to cover them with infamy, were they performed from motives of personal interest. Frightful is the situation of that individual, who is prompted to the commission of crime by a feeling or principle he considers honourable! The unhappy Irishman was found guilty; he requested the indulgence of being shot as a soldier, instead of being ignominiously hanged as a felon; and on the refusal of this request, committed suicide in his prison!

With the death of this chief original projector of the conspiracy, the reduction of the predatory

bands in the mountains, and the disappointment of French aid, ended a rebellion deeply and artfully formed, proving the ability of the formers, but in its result illustrating the truth, that however judiciously and ably plans may be laid, it is difficult indeed, if not impossible, to meet with and fix upon proper and effective instruments to put them in execution.

It is to be feared, that although the embers of rebellion are smothered in this our sister kingdom, that the smallest igniting spark would raise them into flame, until England can succeed in calling into action those feelings of our common nature, which are the main-springs of moral improvement. The first duty of reformers of every kind, is to secure the affections and confidence of those whose condition, moral, physical, and intellectual, is to be reformed. They must be won slowly and gradually from those opinions and those habits which oppose improvement, and cherish the vicious propensities, while they narrow and debase the mind. To enter, at least in appearance, into their rude feelings and peculiar habits, and thus by cultivating the soil, to give hope of a healthy produce.

Most unhappily, the prejudices of religious antipathy are so deeply rooted among the lower classes of the Irish Romanists, that any civil disturbance, however unconnected with religious principles, would be quickly converted into a quarrel of that nature, even the most bitter. Nothing but the enlightening and enlarging the minds of the population, by early and judicious instruction, will have power to counteract this propensity among a people who have a traditionary notion of exclusive right to the divine favour, and of the merit of opposition against those who question the doctrine. Their jealousy is awakened

against the first motion towards the invasion of their rights, civil and religious, and they never fail to identify them. This jealousy becomes a fruitful source of precipitate judgments and false impressions, many imaginary grievances and unjust complaints.

This developement of religious with political zeal is however very natural, and entirely to be expected in the collision of human interests. Whatever raises a church into importance will be applied (or at least the attempt to apply it will be made) to the extension of that church's power and creed. Zealous protestants regard the security and prevalence of their faith as a legitimate end; many of them as the most important end for which their social advantages can be employed, and it must in candour be expected that the catholics act upon the same principle.

As it is far from our intention however to recommend in this cursory retrospect any line of policy, as it aims no higher than a simple narration of events, we leave it to deeper thinkers and abler pens to suggest the remedies to be applied to the evils complained of by the Irish, and which awaken the interest of the English. Much has been done and much yet remains to be done, but we must guard against being too precipitate in the means and too sanguine in the hopes of amelioration. The evils are manifold and deeply seated, of course the remedies must be applied by skilful judgments, and be progressive not rapid in their operation. A consequence of great and general importance, the result of which is yet hid behind the veil of futurity, flowed from the misery experienced in the civil distractions in Ireland we have recorded, and the sense of danger which the country had so providentially escaped, of yet incalculably greater miseries, had the rebels proved successful. This was the legislative union

of Great Britain and Ireland. It was believed that the political incorporation of the two kingdoms might remove the baneful jealousies so long existing, and more particularly remedy the evil and inconvenience of a system of two distinct legislatures, *nominally* independent, but one *practically* dependent on the other. This was the view in which many intelligent and reflecting men among the Irish regarded the measure; but it was not to be expected that the number was great, whose minds could thus rise above national prejudices or personal and local advantages. To the majority the very idea of such union was odious, and such was the determined prejudice against it, that there was not the smallest probability of success, if the measure were proposed. The calamities and dangers of the rebellion somewhat softened these prejudices.

The existing connection between Great Britain and Ireland not being deemed sufficiently close for mutual safety, the consideration of the important subject was recommended by his majesty to the British and Irish parliaments in the year 1799. In order to give ample time for reflection upon a subject involving the destinies of a great nation, the actual proposal of the question was deferred to the following year. "There was just reason to expect that the subversion of a regular and independent parliament would greatly wound the feelings of a high-spirited and proud people, and that the deprivation of some individual and local advantages would have more weight with the popular members than the prospective general benefit to be derived from an imperial parliament. These apprehensions were certainly well founded, even the rumour of the scheme excited in Ireland strong sensations of disgust; when the lord lieutenant mentioned the king's desire and hope of a speedy improvement of the

connection between the realms, some of the most eloquent members of the commons so forcibly roused the assembly, that ministry could only procure in one division a majority of *one*, and in another of *two* votes. In two subsequent discussions each party alternately prevailed.

In the commons of Great Britain Mr. Pitt argued on the expediency of applying in the case of Ireland, that principle of union which had so happily healed the divisions and harmonised the discords which had prevailed between the English and Scottish parliament; he disclaimed any intention of insinuating that any serious disagreement existed between the Irish legislature and that of Britain, but from the independence of the former and the risque of its being occasionally influenced by local prejudices, he apprehended a variance might sometimes arise dangerous to the welfare of the British empire. This danger he considered more probable and more alarming from the certainty, he well knew, that the French were still meditating, in concert with many disaffected Irish, an absolute disjunction of the island from the empire of which it had so long formed a part. A scheme of such magnitude and importance could not be expected to pass without very many strictures and spirited animadversions. It was says an English historian " assailed by the sarcastic wit and nervous oratory of Sheridan, the more chastened and dignified eloquence of Grey, the acuteness of Tierney, and the casuistry of Lawrence.

The Earl of Moira opposed it chiefly on the ground of its being repugnant to the wishes of the people of Ireland, Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Holland resisted it because they conceived it was unnecessary and might be highly injurious to the connection it was intended to cement. The several

opinions of these enlightened statesmen are well known. Lord Moira had ever, with his characteristic mild dignity and moderation, recommended measures of conciliation instead of coercion with his unhappy countrymen. He never failed to advise the gaining the affections of the Irish by plans of mildness, rather than by harsh and precipitate measures to rouse the irritable feelings of a people so impatient. Earl Fitzwilliam entertained similar sentiments and acted upon them during the continuance of his popular government in the country.*

The strong and discriminating mind of Sheridan grasped the various relations of the subject with a perspicuity that was embellished by his noblest effusions of eloquence, which for the moment disarmed prejudice of its sting and lulled the spirit of party; though, as was too usual with him, he was sometimes hurried to a levity of remark unworthy of the great national question agitated.

The several arguments of the orators went to prove that every purpose of connection was fully answered by the existing identity of the executive power of the two realms, that in the event of the proposed union there never could be that perfect incorporation, either physical, moral, or political which had been effected in the alleged case of

* So highly venerated was this nobleman during his lieutenancy in Ireland, that a panic more easily to be conceived than expressed pervaded the whole kingdom, but more particularly the city of Dublin, upon the news of his recall being made public. The nation seemed again to sink into despondency; the houses, shops, &c were shut up in the streets through which he passed on the memorable day on which he sailed to England. These marks of national gratitude, sorrow, and disappointment greatly affected his lordship, particularly as he had anticipated the enjoyment of being the instrument to confer national happiness, a result which his recall denied him to experience.

Scotland. It was warmly contended that the removal of all religious restrictions would alone effectually promote concord and unity; that from the subversion of the parliament of Ireland mischievous discord must inevitably ensue, nor could any thing in the smallest degree justify the extraordinary measure, but the free and declared sense of the people at large, obtained by *new elections*.

All arguments however proved vain to prevail on the cabinet to abandon the measure. During this interval of the year, however, the ministerial interest gained such accession in Ireland, that a majority of forty-two voted in the commons against the popular cause. In the meantime the articles of union were framed, according to the outlines which had been sketched and voted in England, and were included in an address to his majesty. The Marquis Cornwallis communicated to the Irish house of peers, and commons, the resolutions voted in the British parliament; and a full development of the scheme was given by Lord Castlereagh. The articles being agreed to by the Irish parliament, they voted the address, in which they declared that they cordially embraced the principle of incorporating the two realms into one, by a complete legislative union, that they had been assisted by the resolutions of the British parliament in framing a plan of that kind, and that they were ready to give their final sanction in concert with great Britain, to the articles which they now offered to their sovereign.

His majesty after communicating this address to his parliament, recommended them to complete the great work of union, and after debates, continuing through several weeks, all the articles were sanctioned. The bill contained eight articles; by the first three, a union of the two realms, a confirmation of the protestant succession, and a

consolidation of the parliaments were ordained; the next adjusted the mode of securing the interests of Ireland in the combined legislative body, to insure this four prelates were ordered to sit alternately in each session, and twenty-eight laic peers were to be chosen for life, while two members for each of the thirty-two counties, and thirty-six citizens and burgesses, were to represent the Irish commons. The fifth article united the churches of England and Ireland, leaving Scotland distinct. The sixth provided that the people of Great Britain and Ireland should be entitled to the same privileges and be on the same footing as to encouragements and bounties on articles of commerce being the "growth, produce, or manufacture of either country." The seventh left the public debt of each kingdom on a separate basis, with regard to interest and final liquidation, and required that the expenditure of the united kingdom should be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Britain, and two parts for Ireland; but after the lapse of twenty years it was to be at the option of the parliament to continue this arrangement or not. The eighth article provided for the conservation of the laws which were then in force, and the preservation of the regular courts of judicature, subject however to such alterations as might appear to the legislature to be occasionally expedient.—*See History of Europe.*

Although these stipulations seemed calculated for the purposes intended, those of harmony and conciliation, yet very many regarded the measure in toto as the final act of the subjugation of the country, a total annihilation of its liberties and a tyrannical encroachment on the freedom, a base invasion of the rights of an independent nation. These strong impressions were in a great measure

produced by the strenuous exertions made to influence the house of commons, and the omission of that constitutional appeal to the electors which such an important national change required. The Irish persisted in declaring that it was forced upon them, and against every act of assumed power the mind strongly and naturally revolts; but although Ireland disapproved the union with its elder sister, his majesty declared that he "should ever consider it as the happiest event of his reign."

It was in the critical period of 1801 when so many memorable events marked the state of the political world both abroad and at home, that the first united parliament of the two kingdoms assembled at Westminster. His majesty in his address to both houses observed, that he derived great satisfaction from being enabled for the first time to avail himself of the advice and assistance of the united parliament. "This memorable era, he said, "distinguished for the accomplishment of a measure calculated to augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire, and to cement more closely the interests and affections of my subjects, will I trust be equally marked by that vigour, energy, and firmness which the circumstances peculiarly require." The case of the catholics in Ireland, whose claims after the union formed a subject of discussion in the cabinet, was frequently alluded to.

Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville favoured the wishes of the catholics, as necessary to confirm the interests of the united kingdom, they affirmed that as no danger could arise from it, policy required the concession. Many members however were of a different opinion, alleging that the oath taken by his majesty at his coronation precluded beyond all doubt, his assent to any measure which might

in its consequences endanger or trouble the religious establishment of the realm. In consequence of opposition of opinion, Mr. Pitt declared that he conceived himself bound by his duty, his conscience, and his honour to resign that situation in which he was not at full liberty to pursue his ideas of equity and public benefit. Many changes took place in the cabinet, and the Earl of Hardwicke was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Sir John Mitford chancellor in the ensuing year.

In 1803, when the negociations of Lord Whitworth with the first consul had abruptly terminated, and in consequence there became an evident necessity to defend the country against Gallic invasion, an additional force was to be promptly raised. Accordingly an army of ten thousand men, under the title of the army of reserve, was formed, independent of the regular and supplementary militia, and a general levy en masse was recommended. The roused spirit of the country at that memorable epoch rendered this latter measure totally unnecessary, as it soon presented a further force of three hundred thousand effective volunteers.

While these arrangements tending to secure the united kingdom against foreign hostility were vigorously in progress, the alarm of internal commotion in Ireland once more arose. That unhappy kingdom was still perturbed and distressed, consequently in a state of discontent; deep distress brooded beneath apparent indifference, whilst the inveterate discordance subsisting between the two religions of the population kept alive that unceasing irritation which was ready on the least occasion to explode in some dangerous action. Nor did all the endeavours which had been made to soften prejudices or to close divi-

sions, produce that coalition of plans and interests, without which a country can neither enjoy peace nor prosperity. Men will bear the extreme of suffering and want with wonderful patience, while they suppose the evil to arise from a natural and inevitable necessity, but if they once imagine it to proceed from any fault of their rulers, or think that relief is attainable if proper means were pursued for the purpose, however depressed they may be by the harshness of government, or the weight of financial burdens, they will take fire, and no bounds can be prescribed to the violent ebullition of feeling. Ireland has too often illustrated the truth of our assertion. The discontent pervading the body of the people was greatly augmented by the wily stratagems and artful sophistries of the abettors of democracy, themselves deceived by an illusory picture of political perfection. It was on the popular feverish irritability that they found the seeds of sedition and disloyalty were likely to germinate, and they failed not to keep alive the unnatural warmth in the bosoms of Hibernia's sons.

These popular leaders were not distinguished by rank, but they possessed those imposing talents which easily obtained an influence over the multitude, while they were themselves in that highly excited state of mind produced by the spirit of party, considering its object as superior to every thing that exists; it fears no danger and can repent of no sacrifice when that end is to be obtained. It was on the evening of July 23d, 1803, that the rash multitude of Dublin, instigated by these leaders, armed themselves with pikes and other offensive weapons, and sallied forth, having previously distributed a number of inflammatory addresses, by which the people were exhorted to take arms,

in order to rescue themselves from an insupportable yoke. During the ensuing tumult the Lord Chief Justice Kilwarden and his nephew were stopped as they were passing in a carriage, dragged violently from the vehicle and murdered by the insurgents. To account for this dreadful outrage against Lord Kilwarden, it is necessary to state that he was thought, if not absolutely known, to have been the adviser of most if not all the severe laws which had, for some years gone by, been enacted in Ireland, and which had suspended (at least in the opinion of the popular party) some of the most important and constitutional privileges of the people. In private life his lordship, who thus fell a victim to popular resentment, had the high character of a steady friend and an honest man. The fatal career of sedition was however on this occasion soon arrested, but it was by means which must ever be most painful to generous spirits to employ, though no one can doubt the necessity of the system of coercion in this instance. A body of yeomanry and soldiers attacked the insurgents, of whom many fell victims to their rash enterprise; some of the loyal combatants also lost their lives, although their cause finally prevailed in the distressing conflict.

Had not this insurrection in the capital been thus promptly and effectually opposed, it would there is reason to fear have extended as rapidly as that of Wexford, the spirit of which it has been remarked quickly took possession of the shop of the tradesman, the cottage of the peasant, the pulpit of the dissenting minister, the confessional of the catholic priest, and as we have seen, advanced with boldness, ferocity, and unanimity of concert to the completion of the projected design. In the present instance the intelligence received

by the provincial conspirators, of the check given to the insurrection in Dublin, repressed the spirit of rebellion. Many of the inferior agents in this ebullition of treason were taken and capitally punished before the concealment of their leaders was discovered, but they were at length taken and brought to trial. The evidence against Emmet, the principal, was conclusive, he was declared guilty, and suffered with coolness and courage; he frankly avowed his hostility against the existing government, but firmly denied having solicited aid from the French, strongly deprecating the interposition of that government in foreign national affairs, as invariably where they entered as friends they had acted like determined enemies. Russel, the associate of Emmet, with equal candour and boldness acknowledged his invincible repugnance to the prevailing political system, and met his fate with a similar fortitude; he had not like Emmet openly engaged in the insurrection, but was in full possession of the scheme, and had by various means encouraged the disaffected to take an active part in the treason. It appeared from the evidence against those victims of their own misguided principles, that a scheme of provisional government had been prepared, intended to be recommended to, or enforced on, the people, that measures were taken for arming the enemies of the government, and other revolutionary acts, and that it was intended to retaliate upon the armed adherents of the court the violence that had been exercised under the forms of law against the true friends of Ireland. Thus whatever might have been the effect of a milder system acted upon by the government, it is certain the observance of a contrary one offered too good a plea to the disaffected for discontent, complaint, and resistance.

In every reform or revolution desired by the Irish, the emancipation of the catholics must be the primary step, since it would be a necessary one to give prospect of success, as from their numbers they would bring a vast accession to the weight of the people in the political scale, as well as possess the greatest and most powerful popular influence. It is, however, to be lamented, that the catholics of Ireland, as far as relates to their endeavours for the recovery of their civil rights, should so invariably blend them with manifestations of religious proselyting zeal and bigotry, and thus awaken those fears of theological conflicts, of which the experience of the past informs us but too truly of the lamentable results to nations and individuals. Too often the powerful feeling of political degradation is associated with that equally powerful of pride at the ancient religious supremacy enjoyed. These injudicious manifestations of religious partialities tend to increase the fears of catholic emancipation, strengthen the apprehensions of those who regard it as a dangerous measure, and cause even hesitation in those who have been accustomed to deem it an act of political expediency and justice, and who, from considering it abstractedly as a political measure, begin to apprehend its possible influence on the established religion. That protestants also act with religious bigotry cannot be doubted. Many instances might be adduced, and it is to be feared that the discordance of the parties is too great ever to admit of any solid and permanent coalition in the national affairs, though specious junctions may be formed even to deceive the superficial observer. That many partial inconveniencies should arise even from the Union which it was hoped would produce general and mutual good to the kingdoms united, was what might reasonably

be expected, and ought not to form a subject of bitter complaint, or to produce resentful feelings towards the agents of the measure.

In the session of 1805 a contest took place not likely to conciliate parties, or to heal divisions injurious to true patriotism. The leading catholics of Ireland revived that subject of complaint which had so frequently disturbed the tranquillity, and excited jealousies between the two countries, namely, their disabilities for offices of national trust and consequence. It had been resolved at a meeting of these individuals, that a petition should be presented to both Houses of Parliament for the utter extinction of those incapacities, restraints, and privations, which were at once severe and humiliating, and urging that the system of "exclusion, reproach, and suspicion, was even ignominious, and deeply affecting them in every condition and station of life. Professing their admiration for, and their high regard of the constitution, they prayed to be restored to the full enjoyment of its benefits, that they might be animated to a defence of its blessings." Their advocate in the House of Peers was Lord Grenville; in the Commons, Mr. Fox with his accustomed energy argued in their favour. It was contended that differences of religious opinion ought to have no influence in regard to the civil rights of the individuals forming a great community, and that until it could be clearly and unquestionably proved that those religious opinions were incompatible with the constitution, and dangerous to its safety, all citizens whatever their creed had equal pretensions to the benefits, the honours, and the emoluments of the state which they contributed to uphold and defend. It was urged that various circumstances prevented the catholics from being individually or collectively objects of just fear.

It was broadly insinuated, that if they were objects of fear, too much had already been conceded to them; but as these fears appeared to be altogether visionary, the measure could not with any shadow of justice be delayed or refused, as it promised permanent concord of parties, accession of strength to the realm, and stability to every political institution, which concentrated wisdom should devise for the national good.

In reply to these arguments, it was said, that admitting that toleration in religious opinions might be claimed as a right; political power stood on a different ground. That every state had an undoubted power to confine as it pleased its offices and its favours to those who were from their religious connection most interested in its support; therefore, that in a constitution formed upon the basis of principles, the value of which had been proved by time and experience, and an establishment erected by wisdom learnt in the best of all schools, and in which the principles of protestantism were thought so essential to its security and peace, that even the sovereign was not allowed to profess any other, the admission of those into power who were opposed to those principles by a recognition of a foreign jurisdiction and a denial of the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, would be both irrational and inconsistent, if not dangerous;—as it was to be feared that the known zeal of the catholics would increase in proportion to the means afforded to exercise it, and thus the nation might gradually lose its distinguishing religious character, while intestine divisions would be created.

With respect to the established church, even its enemies must admit, that it stands clearly exempted from the charge of undue zeal, or severity towards those holding a different form of faith.

Persecution cannot be deemed an evil of the times. The claims of church power are far from being carried too high, nor does a spirit of intolerance characterize the episcopal hierarchy. The catholics, therefore, had no reason to apprehend a persecuting zeal, or that the restraints thought necessary by legislative wisdom to secure the superiority of the protestant faith of the realm could ever be for a moment thought derogatory to the admitted high qualities, or degrading to the character of the Irish catholics.

The result of the debates was unfavourable to the catholic claims; a result anticipated by the petitioners, who, however, determined to trust to perseverance for ultimate success. Accordingly, the question was again brought forward in 1807, and several conferences took place between the king and his ministers on the important subject. The king when pressed to consent to the bill by the first Lord of the Treasury, replied, "My Lord, I am one of those who respect an oath. I have firmness enough to quit my throne and retire to a cottage, or to place my neck on a block or a scaffold if my people require it, but I have not resolution to break that oath, which I took in the most solemn manner at my coronation." Many distinguished members of both houses had for some time desired their catholic fellow subjects completely to participate in every national privilege, while many were only advocates for removing restrictions with regard to the army and navy. The alarming increasing power and enmity of France, was at this time pleaded as a conclusive reason why the required boon should be granted, as it would ensure the warm exercise of all the energies of the empire. To this might be added the disordered state of Ireland, which rendered the measure peculiarly expedient, as it

would tend to allay the discontents of that kingdom more effectually than any other. From the commencement of the agitation of this measure the king expressed his disapprobation of the indulgence meditated, but strongly urged by a memorial from the cabinet, he assented to its being discussed.

A correspondence even ensued with the viceroy of Ireland, during which some explanation refering to the plan was desirable, and an unequivocal one was given by the king. While the bill however was in actual progress, the king declared himself hostile to the proposed concessions. Modifications of the scheme were humbly offered, but his majesty was firm in his opinion, exacting a solemn pledge of his ministers that the question should not again be brought forward. They however refused giving this pledge, for though willing to yield to the conscientious objections of their sovereign, they still declared their unchanged conviction of the expediency and policy of yielding to the wishes of so large and loyal a portion of the community. The king dismissed this ministry immediately, but with just acknowledgments of their talents and his sense of their merits.

We have professed to relate only simple facts, feeling our incompetency to judge of the policy, or to view with clearness and precision in all its bearings any legislative act. We therefore are far from attempting to decide upon the merits of the question so warmly agitated at this period, in which the king evinced his high respect for the solemn obligations of an oath. Rigour against any thing that bears the name of religion is justly reprobated by every genuine mind, and must ever give it pain, and it is certainly better to extend too far than to circumscribe too narrowly the bounds of forbearance and indulgent charity; but

let those who think the exclusion of the catholics unjust, ungenerous, and severe, reflect upon the dangerous tendency of the doctrines of the Romish church.

"If popery," says an ecclesiastical writer, "considered as a pernicious system of policy, should be pleaded as a sufficient reason to except it from the indulgence due to *merely speculative* systems of theology, if the voice of history should be appealed to, as declaring the assassinations, rebellions, conspiracies, the horrid scenes of carnage and desolation, which popery in its proselyting zeal has occasioned; if the standing maxims and principles of the Romish church should be quoted, which authorize these enormities; if it should be alleged finally, that popery is much more malignant and dangerous in Great Britain than in other Protestant countries; we acknowledge that all these pleas *are well founded*, and plead for *modifications* to the liberty which the clemency or indulgence of the legislature may grant to that unfriendly system of religion. All we desire is, that mercy and humanity may ever accompany the execution of justice, and that nothing like merely religious persecution may stain the British annals."

Now we would diffidently ask if the exclusion of the Catholics from merely temporal and political advantages, can with any shadow of justice be deemed persecution, or interfere in the smallest degree with their spiritual welfare? But it is said the rapid march of mind during the last, and the early portion of the present century, the improvements in science, and the enlargement of the intellectual powers, have divested the catholic religion of all its dangerous dogmas, or rather deprived it of all power to influence the actions of those to whom they have been taught.

We fully admit the natural tendency of intel-

lectual improvement to strengthen and confirm the cause of simple religion, and its power to open the mental eye to the errors of a perverted principle. But we may do well also to remember that the very *basis* of popery is a blind submission to an usurped authority over the *understanding*, as well as the consciences of men, and an implicit credulity that adopts without due examination, assertions deriving their existence from the questionable sources of fanatical reveries, or the artful misrepresentations of imposture; hence it has, in too many instances, been no more than a political power, attacked or defended according to the sole interests of this world, and the engines by which it was worked have been ignorance, secrecy, and obscurity. "The right of examining what we ought to believe is," says an admired writer, "the foundation of Protestantism." The first reformers did not so understand it, they thought they could fix the pillars of Hercules of the human mind at the boundary of their own knowledge, but they were wrong in imagining that men would submit to their discussions as if they were infallible. They who had rejected all authority of this sort in the catholic religion. Protestantism then was sure to follow the progress of knowledge, while *catholicism boasted of being immoveable in the midst of the waves of time.* But if the progress of free inquiry have a natural and irresistible tendency to undermine or destroy the foundations of popery, and to render its dogmas innoxious in a protestant country, how can it be accounted for, that amid the general illumination of the human mind, it not only exists in perfect vitality, but seems even to have renewed a portion of its former vigour. The question is an interesting one, and it behoves the friends of catholic emancipation to examine it candidly and deeply, ere they accuse those who differ from

them in opinion, of bigotry, narrow-mindedness, or evil policy. It will be acknowledged that it is much easier to espouse a cause, than to examine and review the principles of it, or the authority on which they have been taken up. Let but a sincere desire to arrive at the truth, a due consideration of the subject in all its bearings, a candour which allows for human imperfection, and charity which thinketh no evil, but guide us in the examination of any question which regards others, and we shall surely not very much err in our judgment—observing ever that while we condemn catholicism as a system, we beware of cherishing any prejudices against catholics as men.

But to return from this perhaps unwarrantable digression. On the decision of his Majesty on the catholic question, an address was presented to him from Sion College, of which we give some extracts. After the usual forms of opening an address, the clergy of this college thus express their approbation of the king's conduct.

"We feel, Sire, that we should be utterly unworthy of that uniform and pious protection which through the course of a long and auspicious reign your Majesty has, under Divine Providence, extended to the church established in this United Kingdom, if we did not in the present posture of affairs express our deep and indelible gratitude to your Majesty, for a recent instance of your royal wisdom and constancy in the preservation of those sanctions which experience has proved to be necessary for the protection of our constitution in church and state. These sanctions were the legacy of our revered ancestors, who lived in times most distinguished by the progress of true philosophy and the sagacity of legislative wisdom.

"Sire, we are fully aware of all the dangers

and confusions which must arise from depriving the established church of that mild, tolerant ascendancy which equally prevents the ruinous conflicts of contending sects, and the overbearing supremacy of a foreign spiritual jurisdiction, inconsistent with either liberty or toleration, or genuine allegiance to a protestant prince.

"In your Majesty's firm refusal to sanction projects utterly subversive of all that the wisdom of our forefathers devised, and destructive of the strongest barriers of that constitution which your august family were called by Divine Providence to defend, we recognize with veneration and gratitude an eminent regard for the true principles of christian toleration, and the high duties incumbent on a monarch of the protestant succession, and a most conscientious adherence to the sanctity of your coronation oath, which places the protestant religion, as established by law in this kingdom, under your Majesty's peculiar and incessant protection.

"That your Majesty may long here on earth enjoy the allegiance, affection, and gratitude of all your faithful subjects, and the approving testimony of your conscience, and that you may late inherit the unfading crown which is reserved in Heaven for the protectors and defenders of the sincere and uncorrupted faith of Christ, is the fervent and constant prayer of, Sire, your ever dutiful and affectionate subjects,

"THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF SION COLLEGE."

Given at Sion College,
April 18, 1807.

The approbation of the citizens of London was conveyed in a similar manner, and in terms equally expressive of their deep sense of gratitude to the

monarch for his scrupulous regard to the preservation of the established church, and to the inviolability of his coronation oath.

"We contemplate, Sire, (they observe in this address,) with the warmest affection and most profound veneration, the exercise of those unextinguishable principles in the royal breast, which protect in every situation the religious interests of your people, and provide for the happiness and freedom of posterity by guarding the protestant succession in your Majesty's royal house on the throne of the United Kingdom."

When the prince was, in 1811, appointed Regent of the kingdom, on the melancholy malady of his august father being pronounced of such a nature as to preclude all hope of speedy restoration, every thing seemed favourable to the catholic cause, which, although not publicly agitated, still occupied the thoughts of many, and was to those immediately interested the great object of their exertions and their desires.

In the session of 1812 their claims were once more debated. As the king's sentiments on the subject no longer opposed an obstacle to the desired grant; as the Prince Regent was supposed to be at least not unfriendly to the asserted claims, and as numbers of all parties appeared willing to promote, by acquiescence, religious union and harmony, and as the ministry had promised to leave the question to the uninfluenced decision of parliament, there was every reason to anticipate that the remaining disabilities of the complainants would be at length finally removed. Some indeed there were, who entertained strong doubts of the success of the renewed application, and more were of opinion that the two Houses were bound to reject it altogether.

In a question which had been so frequently

agitated, little novelty of remark could be expected in the present discussion, although it was viewed in all its varied aspects by the keen vision of profound politicians. It was at last voted that the claims should be referred to the consideration of a committee. Mr. Grattan with his accustomed felicity of expression shed, over the hackneyed subject, the radiance of his eloquence, or varying his style into the close and energetic, concentrated the force of his argument in advocating a cause which so long had occupied the high faculties of his mind, and interested the best feelings of his heart. He moved that the civil and military disqualifications under which they laboured should be entirely removed, with such exceptions and regulations as might be deemed necessary for the security of the protestant succession, and of the church as established.

Some protested against the hazardous grant, unless it was precisely known what securities would be offered. The majority, however, agreed to the proposition, and a bill was introduced for its accomplishment. The spirits of the catholics revived—their hopes seemed near fulfilment—their perseverance near its reward. In this period of suspense, a Member expressed his wish that various inquiries might be instituted before the bill should be permitted to pass into a law. He urged the expediency of examining the state and number of the catholic clergy, the nature of their intercourse with the Roman see, the regulations respecting the appointment of prelates, the opinions which were entertained of oaths and tests enforced by the rulers of the state, and, in fact, to investigate closely and maturely every particular which could illustrate the subject, so that the question of security might be accurately determined. This motion was rejected with much

warmth, as indicating an insidious hostility. The bill, it was contended, invested the king with the power of a veto against any episcopal nomination, and of opposing the reception of any bull, brief, or other instrument sent by the pope, unless it should be pronounced unobjectionable by a council, consisting of distinguished catholics and protestants. It also imposed an oath of the most comprehensive kind, and having by this, secured submission and loyalty, gave the desired right of sitting and voting in parliament, and of holding every office except the chancellorship of England, and the vice-royalty of Ireland. Notwithstanding these arguments, however, the protestant Members expressed themselves so dissatisfied with the proposed securities, that on a motion made by the Speaker, which was strongly supported, there was a majority of four for the continued exclusion of the catholics from the two Houses of Parliament, and the bill was thus rejected.

Thus were the hopes of the catholics, so apparently near fruition, again rendered vain, and they had still to trust to perseverance and happier auspices to attain their desire.

Perhaps it is almost invariably found that as we the object of our wishes is removed from us, we become in proportion more eager in pursuit, more tenacious of the privileges we fear to lose, and more resolved to regain what has been wrested from us. That such were the effects upon the catholics from their frequent disappointments has been abundantly proved; but as this work is intended as a retrospect of the past, without aiming at any detail of contemporaneous history, we shall bring it near conclusion by citing a document which, as it seems fully to develope the sentiments of that portion of the British community who suppose themselves degraded, disho-

noured, and contemned, we trust notwithstanding its length we need no apology for inserting.

At a general meeting of the catholics of Ireland, held at Dublin in the spring of 1812, the following petition was unanimously resolved upon to the Prince Regent.

"That we humbly approach your Royal Highness as the guardian of the honour and interests of this great empire, and presume respectfully to submit to your royal consideration our peculiar condition under the penal laws now in force against us.

"We have publicly and solemnly taken every oath of fidelity and allegiance which the jealous caution of the legislature has from time to time imposed as tests of our moral and political principles, and although we are still set apart (how wounding to every sentiment of honour!) as if unworthy of credit in these our sworn declarations, we can appeal confidently to the sacrifices we and our forefathers have long made and which we still make, (rather than violate conscience by taking oaths of a spiritual import contrary to our belief,) as decisive proofs of our profound reverence for the sacred obligation of an oath. By those awful tests we have bound ourselves in the presence of the all-seeing deity whom all classes of christians adore, 'To be sure and faithful, and bear true allegiance to our most gracious sovereign Lord, King George the Third, and him to defend to the utmost of our power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever against his person, crown, or dignity; to use our utmost endeavours to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his heirs all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them, and faithfully to maintain, support, and defend to the utmost of our power the succession to the crown in his Majesty's

family against all persons whomsoever.' That by those oaths we have renounced and abjured obedience and allegiance to any other person, claiming or pretending a right to the crown of this realm. That we have rejected as unchristian and impious to believe the detestable doctrine that it is lawful in anywise to injure any person or persons whomsoever under pretence of their being heretics. And also that unchristian and impious opinion that no faith is to be kept with heretics; that it is no article of our faith; and we renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any authority whatsoever may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever. That we do not believe that the Pope of Rome or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence within this realm. That we firmly believe that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence or colour that it was done for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever; and that it is not an article in the catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or profess that the Pope is infallible or that we are bound to any order, in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order, but that on the contrary, we hold that it would be sinful in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto. That we do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever, but that any person who receives absolution without a sincere sorrow for such sin, and a firm and sincere resolution to avoid fu-

ture guilt, and to atone to God, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sin, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament. And by the most solemn obligations we are bound and solemnly pledged to defend to the utmost of our power, the settlement and arrangement of property in Ireland as established by the laws now in being.

"That we have declared, disavowed, and solemnly abjured any intention to subvert the present church establishment for the purpose of substituting a catholic establishment in Ireland in its stead.

"And we have solemnly sworn that we will not exercise any privilege to which we are, or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the protestant religion or the protestant government in Ireland.

"We can with perfect truth assure your Royal Highness, that the political and moral principles asserted by these solemn and special tests are not merely in unison with our fixed principles, but also expressly inculcated by the religion we profess.

"And we do most humbly trust that as professors of doctrines which permit such tests to be taken, we shall appear to your Royal Highness to be entitled to the full enjoyment of religious freedom, under the happy constitution of these realms.

"Frequently has the legislature of Ireland borne testimony to the uniform peaceable demeanour of the Irish Roman catholics; to their acknowledged merits as good and loyal subjects; to the wisdom and sound policy of admitting them to all the blessings of a free constitution, and of thus binding together all classes of the people by mutual interest and mutual affection. Yet may

we humbly represent to your Royal Highness, and we do so at this perilous crisis with sincere regret and deep solicitude, that the Roman catholics of Ireland still remain subject to severe and humiliating laws, rigidly enforced, universally felt, and inflicting on them divers injurious and vexatious disabilities, incapacities, privations, and penalties, by reason of their conscientious adherence to the religious doctrines of their forefathers. For nearly the entire period of the last twenty years the progress of religious freedom has been obstructed, and while other christian nations have hastened to unbind the fetters imposed upon religious dissent, the Roman catholics of Ireland have remained unrelieved.

"The laws which unequivocally attest our innocence and our merits, continue to load us with the pains of guilt, our own consciences, the voice of mankind, acquit us of crime or offence. Our protestant fellow citizens press forward with generous ardour, and enlightened benevolence to testify their earnest wishes for our relief. Yet these penal laws of which we humbly complain, cherish the spirit of hostility, and impede the cordial union of the people, which is at all times so desirable and now so necessary. These penal laws operate for no useful or meritorious purpose, affording no aid to the constitution either of church or state; not attaching affection to either—they are efficient only for objects of disunion and disaffection. They separate the protestant from the catholic, and withdraw both from the public good, they irritate man against his fellow creature, alienate the subject from the state, and leave the Roman catholic community but a precarious and imperfect protection, as the reward of fixed and unbroken allegiance. We forbear to detail the numerous incapacities and inconveniences inflicted

by those laws directly or indirectly upon the Roman catholic community; or to dwell upon the humiliating and ignominious system of exclusion, reproach and suspicion, which they generate and keep alive. Perhaps no age or nation has ever witnessed severities more vexatious or inflictions more taunting than those which we have long endured, and of which but too large a portion yet remains. Relief from these disabilities and penalties we have sought through every channel that has appeared to us legitimate and eligible. We have never consciously violated or sought to violate, the known laws of the land, nor have we pursued our object in any other manner than such as has been usually adhered to, and apparently best calculated to collect and communicate our united sentiments accurately without tumults, and to obviate all pretexts for asserting that the Roman catholic community at large were indifferent to the pursuit of their freedom; we can affirm with perfect sincerity we have no latent views to realize, no secret or sinister objects to obtain. Any such imputation must be effectually repelled as we humbly conceive by the consideration of our numbers, our property, our known principles and character.

"Our object is avowed and direct—earnest yet natural. It extends to an equal participation of the civil rights of the constitution of our country, equally with our fellow-subjects of all other religious persuasions; it extends no further.

"We would cheerfully concede the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty to all mankind, we ask no more for ourselves.

"We seek not the possession of offices, but merely eligibility to office in common with our fellow citizens; not power or ascendancy over any class of people, but the bare permission to rise

from our prostrate posture, and to stand erect in the empire.

"We have been taught that according to the pure and practical principles of the British constitution, property is justly entitled to a proportionate share of power, and we humbly trust that no reasonable apprehension can arise from that power which can only be obtained and exercised through the constitution.

"We are sensible, and do not regret that this equality of civil rights (which alone we humbly sue for) will leave a fair practical ascendancy, wheresoever property shall predominate, but whilst we recognise and acknowledge the wholesomeness of this great principle, we cannot admit the necessity of the disqualified disfranchisement of any part of the people in a constitution like that of these realms. We are gratified by the reflection that the attainment of this our constitutional object will prove as conducive to the welfare and security of this great empire, as to the complete relief of the Roman catholic community, that it will secure the quiet and concord of our country, animate all classes of the people in the common defence, and form the most able protection against the dangers which heavily menace these islands.

"For we most humbly presume to submit it to your Royal Highness as our firm opinion that an equal degree of enthusiasm cannot reasonably be expected from men, who feel themselves excluded from a fair participation of the blessings of a good constitution and government, as from those who fully partake of its advantages; that the enemies of this empire who meditate its subjugation found their best hopes of success upon the effect of these penal laws, which by depressing millions of the inhabitants of Ireland, may weaken their attachment to their country and impair the means of its

defence, and that the continued pressure of these laws in times of unexpected danger only spreads the general feeling of distrustful alarm, and augments the risk of common ruin. To avert such evils, to preserve and promote the welfare and security of this empire, and to become thoroughly identified with our fellow-subjects in interests and affection, are objects as precious in our eyes upon every consideration of property, principle, and moral duty, as in those of any other description of the inhabitants of these realms. If in thus humbly submitting our distressed condition and our earnest hopes to the consideration of your Royal Highness, we would dwell upon the great numbers and the property of the Roman catholics of Ireland, already so considerable, and rapidly increasing, and to their consequent more important contributions to the exigences of the state, we would not do so with a wish of exciting unworthy motives of coercion, but in the honest hope of suggesting legitimate and rational grounds for constitutional relief. And deeply indeed should we lament if these very recommendations should serve only to hold us out as objects of harsh suspicion at home, or of daring attempts upon our allegiance abroad.

"May we then with hearts deeply interested in the fate of this our humble supplication, presume to appeal to the wisdom and benignity of your Royal Highness on behalf of a very numerous, industrious, affectionate, and faithful body of people, the Roman catholics of Ireland.

"And to pray that your Royal Highness may be pleased to take into your valuable consideration the whole of our condition, our numbers, our services, our merits, and our sufferings. And as we are conscious of the purity of our motives, and the integrity of our principles, we therefore humbly pray to be restored to the rights and privileges of

the constitution of our country, to be freed from all penal and disabling laws in force against us on account of our religious faith, and that we may thereby become more worthy as well as more capable of promoting the service of the crown, and the substantial interests of this great empire, now committed to the unrestricted wisdom of your Royal Highness." (*See Holt's George III.*)

To offer any comment upon the above quoted document would be insulting to the understanding of the reader, we therefore forbear any remark, which it is abundantly calculated to suggest. We pretend no higher than to write a faithful record of facts, we presume not to judge of the hearts, or weigh the opinions of others, yet may we be permitted to observe that the doctrines of the catholic church implied in it, do not well agree with the protestation of the Irish church in the year 1626 to which we refer our readers, page 28 of our history. Have then the doctrines of the Romish church undergone a change? and is the spirit which once animated its acts utterly extinct, so that it has become an innoxious principle in the bosom of a protestant country? It is not for us to determine these questions, the progress of time and the power of circumstances will resolve them.

During the session of 1813 one of the petitions to which the public anxiously looked forward for discussion, *final* discussion, was that of the Roman catholic claims. This great question, though agitated with moderation of language and close reasoning, was more varied in its objects and principles than heretofore. To the obvious interests of individuals of that communion in freeing themselves from degrading restrictions, and obtaining access to power and emolument, was added a warm zeal in supporting the fundamental maxims of equality of rights among the citizens, and the

entire separation of religious from political concerns, which it was declared operated upon many independently of personal motives. On the other side, to the natural reluctance of the members of an establishment erected with so much cost, to resign any of its prerogatives, was certainly subjoined those feelings of aversion towards the Roman catholic religion, which perhaps can never rationally be expected to be expunged from the hearts of the British public; feelings which have on various occasions united in opposition to it, those individuals who not only on other subjects have had no community of sentiment, but who have even differed most widely from each other. The reason is obvious, it is found in the pages of history. They there read that if the "outworks are given up to Rome the castle may probably be soon obliged to surrender," perhaps also with a painful conviction in consistency with the affirmation of a priest of their own persuasion, the justness of which has been too often borne out by history, "that the popish religion has been mediately or immediately the cause of almost all the political disturbances in Europe, since the days of Gregory the Seventh."*

We have thus brought our retrospect to the close of the earthly reign of a monarch who was worthy of the warmest affection and heartfelt veneration of his people, and whose almost last ray of rational judgment was exercised by a question involving the religious and civil unity of his subjects, and the determination of which incontestably proved the just sense he entertained of the awful sanction of an oath, and the high responsibility to which it bound him. Let us then while we with gratitude enjoy the blessings which this solemn regal oath protects, regard with pity and

* See Geddes, quoted in Marsh's Sermon.

christian charity those we think in error. Let us enter our protest against these errors, but in the spirit of christian candour, and christian kindness. Thus and thus only can we remove prejudices, encourage examination, engage the understanding, win the heart, and by shewing in ourselves with truth and simplicity the beauty of holiness and moral worth, haply withdraw many from the mazes of erroneous faith, to that plain and bright path marked out for our pursuit by the martyrs of the glorious reformation. "It is," says an animated and pious divine, "the relation and subserviency of protestantism to legitimate liberty and *vital* christianity; which form its highest and best commendation, and blessings, temporal, spiritual, and eternal, have actually been connected with it." Let us cherish the remembrance of that great event which gave to us such blessings, and guard them with assiduous care, as a great national as well as precious individual deposit.

CHAPTER XXX.

State of the arts, sciences, and literature, and of pulpit eloquence —The Papacy—Its vicissitudes—Concluding observations.

A. D. 1800.

Such and so multifarious have been the improvements in the arts, sciences, literature, and education since the period in which we paused in our general retrospect, that we are lost amidst the multitude of subjects which invite our observation in those several departments of national intellectual riches. A splendid constellation of eminent geniuses in almost every portion of the hemisphere of knowledge bursts upon our mental view, dazzling our perceptions and perplexing us from what quarter to select the most brilliant stars. But with this amazing march of mind we have the painful duty to mark in too many instances the perversion of its energies; to observe almost super-human talent, assume arms against the highest hopes and the best blessings of man, and waste itself in fanciful theories of human perfectibility, while ordinary and safe means of attaining solid moral excellence were disregarded or contemned, and the plain obligations of duty made to yield to speculative notions, tending to no end but the excitement and encouragement of human pride, and to exalt man above his Creator.

To enter into any illustration of these remarks would be but to repeat what has been fully dis-

cussed by far abler pens, we presume not, therefore, to enter upon a task which, perhaps, might be deemed invidious, of selecting for remark any from the numerous instances that might be adduced, both of superior piety and moral excellence, combined with high talent, or of those who have attained the melancholy pre-eminence of devoting their high intellectual faculties to the service of irreligion, licentiousness, and the low passions of human nature. To attempt such a task would be indeed similar to any one ignorant of astronomy giving his opinion upon the relative position of the stars which illuminate the glorious concave above him. He can see, he can admire their brilliancy indeed, yet would but expose his ignorance, were he to presume to judge of their all-wise end, to pronounce upon the system which preserves them in beautiful harmony, or dare to say why "one star differs from another star in glory." Lest therefore we might incur the contempt which would be justly due to such a self-conceited individual, we shall confine ourselves to a few general observations upon the prevailing literary spirit of the age of which we write, and the influence of mind in its various operations on society during that period.

Many writers there were, who, endowed with the noble gift of eloquence, had also the moral hardihood to renounce the relaxed fashionable opinions, to silence even the counsels of vanity and the instigations of self-love, and to be solely actuated by that universal and durable interest, the happiness both temporal and eternal of their fellow-creatures. In contradistinction to these upright patriots there were too many who exercised their lofty talents in artfully destroying, or at least relaxing, the bond which unites feeble man to his maker; bewildering in the mazes of

their sophistry the timid, the indolent, the thoughtless, and even the sincere inquirer after truth, seeking to render every thing confused, that they might easily undermine religion by attacking its outworks.

Again, we could cite many lively instances, where talent has directed the ignorant, the thoughtless, and the inquiring by wise, affecting, and moderate discourses, or by a judicious blending of reason and sensibility, strengthened the authority of salutary and important truths; but there were also not a few, who in their eagerness to emancipate their fellow-beings from superstition, endeavoured incautiously or wilfully to relax religious restrictions, and thus degenerated into that culpable indifference which is so deadly to all the best and noblest feelings of man, a sort of moral gangrene, which imperceptibly, but surely communicates its morbid influence to every right energy of the soul. The list is ample also of those writers, who in their varied compositions, have served the cause of religion by beautifully illustrating the end it proposes—to assist us to combat our depraved inclinations, to point out the errors, and to save us from the snares of vice, to preserve among us the sacred deposit of principles which are the foundation—the only sure foundation of public order, of private happiness, and to maintain the etherial light which is to illuminate the path of wisdom and true happiness, while it from time to time recalls our wandering minds to the contemplation of those universal duties so necessary to our well-being, and which we describe under the general name of good morals; duties which we have forcibly seen, in our cursory retrospect, that men would too often inconsiderately wish to separate from public interest, but which are bound to it by so many secret and imperceptible

ties, that they cannot be severed with impunity. "Every act of wisdom and virtue may not indeed," says a luminous writer, "be of immediate importance, but morality must be cultivated by degrees, and fortified by habit." If we make a distinction between personal, domestic, and public manners in order to neglect, as we find it expedient or convenient, one part of our duty, we shall soon lose the charm of it, and every day virtue will become more difficult, for without private integrity there can be little of public virtue. But while many exercised their noblest intellectual faculties in improving those of others and diffusing around them the light of religious knowledge and moral obligation, there were multitudes who imbibed too rapidly the baneful poison of irreligion and anarchy mingled together, which had been insidiously infused in the public taste by the French and German minute philosophers, long before their deleterious effects were manifested in the acts of the most tremendous revolution which ever convulsed the moral world, and these disciples disseminated the poison which polluted their own vicious imagination. The consequences were dreadful to the nations whose patriot spirit had ever resisted the physical force of their demoralized enemies. There is no country in which Infidelity has not thus exhaled his deadly poison, and scarcely any nation of Christians among whom might not be found individuals who either aimed at the total extinction of all religion or endeavoured to invalidate the authority of the Christian system. Some carried on their attempts in an open manner, others under an assumed mask, and that often even of Christian profession. Much is it to be lamented that the inestimable blessings of religious liberty, improved by the good and wise to the glory of Christianity, by setting its doctrines and precepts in a rational

light and bringing them back as far as the mutations of time will allow to their primitive simplicity, have been so far abused by the pride of some, and the art, the ignorance, and the licentiousness of others, as to excite an opposition to the Christian system in general, designed and adapted as it is to lead men through the paths of virtue to happiness and perfection. Hence, although these sublime doctrines have been propagated over the world with laudable zeal by the Protestant and Roman churches, while missionaries have exposed themselves to privations, to dangers, and to exile in order to diffuse the light of the gospel, a multitude of adversaries, who close their eyes upon its excelling lustre, have used every means to eclipse it, even from the view of others. For this purpose they availed themselves of the very institutions for the diffusion of knowledge, which confer such honour upon their projectors and encouragers, and upon the age and nation distinguished by them. In too many instances they were perverted by these evil spirits, into seminaries to further their pernicious purposes, and to infuse into the ductile minds of youth the mental poison, under the guise of public utility. Compilations and compositions of every form to attract the young and the credulous were multiplied and circulated with assiduity, and read with avidity. In these productions, the vehicles of irreligion, disloyalty, and immorality, which found their way through numerous channels into the remotest cottages of the land, not only loyalty and subordination were scoffed at, all legal authority defied, but religion was denounced as a system of craft and imposture, the gospel and its divine author reviled or denied, and its ministers laughed to scorn, while every moral restraint was represented as an encroachment upon the natural liberty of the subject, and

as cruel tyranny or unwarrantable despotism. Well have those publications been termed "the moving pestilence of the land," their object was to rob the poor, the uninformed, the youthful, and the credulous of their best inheritance, to snatch from them the blessings of time, to deprive them of their everlasting hope. Such have been some of the abuses of the diffusion of knowledge; it remains for us who have witnessed a part at least of the terrible operation of the poison, to use the same as the all powerful engine, as an antidote to the moral and mental contamination so widely diffused and so deeply seated. We must do this with vigour, resolution, and perseverance, for with subtle policy the enemies of national religion, of national virtue, or national welfare are still covertly but assiduously employed. The stream of knowledge has burst from its exhaustless fount, let us not check its soul refreshing waters, but rather facilitate its progress, but let us at the same time carefully remove from it every thing that can pollute or poison the living spring. It was in the eighteenth century that the prolific seeds of those noxious plants of infidelity, scepticism, and deism, which yet deform our land, were sown and cherished; when men were urged to desert the sure and peaceful refuge of religion for the dreary wilderness of doubt, to contemn the clear and defined principles which she teaches, and to seek in vague notions that peace they have no power to bestow; to leave established and time-honoured doctrines for airy or for crude speculations, consoling hopes for perplexing anxieties, the conditional certainty of happiness eternal for the gloomy anticipations of annihilation. This in truth may be considered as an age, which as a great writer has emphatically observed, "men of

genius hurried themselves even to destruction, *light* was changed for *conflagration.*"

But while we have thus thought it our literary duty to take a glance at those far different exercises of the human intellect exhibited in the eighteenth century, we have also the more pleasing task to record that during the same period arose the majestic fabric of reason and science which now adorns and distinguishes our land.

The fine arts, directed by the enlightened hand of philosophy, soared above the mere purposes of amusement; they shed their softening influence upon manners, were employed in exciting greatness of soul, and stimulating the heart of man to virtue, hence are they become more worthy of their celestial origin.

The mechanic arts and useful inventions marked the rapid march of mind, so various have been the improvements, that in our day scarcely any thing is left undiscovered which can add to the convenience or supply the necessities of life, preserve it unharmed, or shield it from external evil; while philosophy entering familiarly into the juvenile circle, explains various phenomena which used to inspire terror or feed superstition, but are now converted into subjects of interest and amusement, or sources of permanent utility. The domain of intellect has thus been progressively extending, and the cultivation of letters, arts, and sciences continues to be encouraged with even increasing enthusiasm, the present race ardently following up the example of their predecessors in the paths of improvement in every branch of philosophy.

We have by implication mentioned the institutions which provided especially for the gratuitous education of the poor, so peculiarly distinguishing the period of which we now write; but they de-

serve a more direct mention. The small grain sown by the wise and good has in our day grown up and become a large tree, shooting out its fostering branches over the land, sheltering and protecting many from the corruptions of the world. Notwithstanding every imperfection which will necessarily cling to every thing human, these seminaries may justly be considered as the grand counteraction to the vicious principles prevailing, and as the effectual but simple means of producing a salutary change in the manners of the lower classes of the population.

The pulpit eloquence of the eighteenth century gathered its peculiarities from the prevailing taste rather than directed it, as would be its legitimate province. From what we have asserted respecting the perversions of the privilege of free inquiry, it will readily be imagined that the doctrine of faith in the Redeemer, was extinct in the minds of many; and in those who did not entirely reject it, rather a cold languid speculative opinion, than a vital principle exalting the operations of the mind, and harmonizing the feelings of the heart. "Hence," says an animated writer, "the churches were no longer resorted to, to hear truths, believed and at the same time respected by the auditors, men were no longer animated with sentiments of mutual and sympathetic devotion; curiosity, and not good-will to the service, was too often the motive that influenced them. They came to criticise rather than to be edified."

In order to affect the minds of men we must endeavour to please and attract their willing attention, and to enter into their feelings, at least we must be cautious not to wound or disgust them. Hence it was that the preachers of the eighteenth century felt the influence of the prevailing spirit. Fearful of being unpleasing, and thus to lose their

power over the minds of their auditors, they gradually became reserved in fulfilling the whole duties of their ministry by dwelling upon that doctrine which humbles the proud spirit of man, they rather confined themselves to those subjects immediately connected with morality. The effect was as injurious to eloquence as to vital religion. Those exhaustless sources of deep feeling, sublime emotions, and commanding interest, the Holy Scriptures, were ill exchanged for reasons drawn from human sanctions, however profound, or sentiments of mere morality however elegant.

The constant allusions to the spirit-stirring passages of holy writ which had given force and energy to the thoughts, and a sublime simplicity to the sentiments of the divines antecedent to the period we are now speaking of, were in a great measure neglected in proportion as the doctrine of the influence of the Spirit of God on the heart, and the experience of his consolations on the soul, was rejected as enthusiasm, and that of inherent depravity was questioned or denied by man proud in fancied excellence. Man is prone to pass into unreasonable extremes, and in nothing more has this been proved than in the various opinions respecting the doctrine of the influence of the Holy Spirit in the work of salvation. Thus while some rejected it as visionary and enthusiastic, others there were who adopted equally erroneous doctrines in the opposite quarter, apparently forgetful that if the all-sufficient mediator effected a new and gracious covenant, that covenant is also a *mutual* compact, consisting of free mercies on his part, and of conditions to be fulfilled on the part of man, and under these stipulations the benefits of redemption are freely open to all; what those conditions and stipulations are, may be found comprehensively expressed in the divine remark, "If

ye love me, ye will keep my commandments." Passing this line of truth so plain and edifying, these individuals represented works as unnecessary and ineffectual, resting their full hope on simple faith in the Redeemer. They contended that no man could be in a state of salvation or favour with God, unless he had an inward experience, a firm conviction of the divine instruction of the Holy Spirit, touching not at all or slightly inculcating the necessity of showing forth the indwelling of this spirit of grace, by the fruits of piety and moral worth. No one indeed who reads the Scriptures, and duly marks the vicissitudes of feeling in his own bosom, can it is thought deny that the assistance of the Holy Spirit is in fact necessary to our salvation; our sufficiency is of God. It is equally certain that moral deportment alone can never be the ground of our acceptance at the mercy-seat, but faith cannot be genuine unless it be evidenced by its sacred fruits. Experimental religion must lead to practical holiness, all besides is but delusion, we are expressly told "faith without works is dead." That the assisting and sanctifying spirit of the Almighty is graciously extended in boundless mercy to all his creatures, who by their own good endeavours have qualified themselves for the participation of it, is a doctrine full of comfort and encouragement to man, feeling his weakness, conscious of his frailty. That it should have been perverted from its simplicity, is but a proof of the constant danger there is of our best principles breaking through their legitimate bounds, and the pronenes̈s of man to rest his sentiments on the uncertain ground of his own speculations, rather than to draw them from the transcript of the divine wisdom plainly presented in the gospel.

In reference to that high self-constituted power,

the Papacy, the eighteenth century does not present much to our notice. The modern Bishops of Rome formed not as they had heretofore done the prominent figure in the grand historic picture, as they exhibited little more than an empty shadow of their former power. Their prerogatives were diminished and their encroachments restrained; sovereign princes and states who even embraced their communion, no longer trembled at the thunders of the Vatican. They indeed still laded the Holy Father with pompous titles, and treated him with external marks of veneration and respect, yet did they give a mortal blow to his real authority by the prudent and artful distinction they made between the court of Rome and the Roman pontiff, for under cover of this politic distinction they paid respect to his person, but opposed the measures of his court. Intestine divisions existed in the church, but they produced little general sensation, if we except that which arose from the furious disputes between the Jansenists and Jesuits concerning grace, freewill, and other abstract points of theology. The disputed points were referred to the Pope, who pronounced against the Jansenists by a bull styled Unigenitus. This decision, of course interested every catholic country, Ireland not excepted, whose population is composed of so large a portion of Roman catholics; but in France where it originated, it produced the greatest commotion. The great body of the people, the parliaments, the archbishop, fifteen prelates, and many of the inferior clergy violently opposed it as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, the laws of the realm, and an insult on their private judgment. But the king at the instance of his confessor enforced its reception, and the kingdom was quickly divided into *acceptants* and *recusants;* nor was the dispute terminated but by

the death of the king. The Duke of Orleans while Regent ordered the prosecution to cease, at the same time enjoining the recusant Bishops to accept the bull accompanied with certain explications. Necessitated to comply many did so in opposition to their conscience and sentiments, for the sake of peace. Though still reprobated by the people, the obnoxious bull from this period to 1750 occasioned no public disturbance. At that time the clergy resolved to demand confessional notes of dying persons, and it was ordered that these notes should be signed by the clergy adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, no extreme unction could be obtained; we name this as an evidence of the pertinacity of the Holy See and of its chief agents and supporters the Jesuits. The consolatory rites alluded to were refused without pity to all recusants, and to such as confessed to recusants. The new archbishop of Paris engaged with all the ardour of a zealot in this scheme, and the parliament espoused the cause of the people. Other parliaments followed the example of that of Paris, and those clergymen who refused to administer the sacraments to persons in their last moments, were thrown into prison. The church complained of the interposition of the civil power, and the king by an act of his absolute authority prohibited the parliament from taking cognizance of such points. The parliament however asserted its prerogative, the dispute ran high, but the parliament firmly adhered to their principles, and retired from business, rather than compromise them. The greatest confusion ensued, the clergy persisted in refusing the sacraments, and the civil power in prosecuting them for such refusal. The king was again brought over to the dispute and referred it to the Pope. Benedict the fourteenth, of mild disposition and moderate

sentiments, felt he could not retract a constitution regarded as a law of the church, he therefore declared in a circular brieve to all the Bishops of France that the bull Unigenitus must be acknowledged as an universal law, against which none could make resistance "*without endangering their eternal salvation.*" The king commanded that the brieve should be respected, and prohibited the secular judges from ordering the administration of the sacrament, concluding with the declaration that *he would be obeyed.* What was the result? one hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament gave in their resignation the following day, and also fifteen counsellors of the great chamber, while the desperate fanatic Damiens stabbed the monarch, declaring he had no intention of killing, but of merely wounding him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to order the administration of the sacraments at the time of death. (*See Russell's Europe.*)

It is here almost unnecessary to add that from this memorable dispute may be traced the suppression of the order of Jesus in France. To this dispute also, we may perhaps justly attribute the rapid enlargement of the human mind observable in this century. From the emancipation which the people gained from spiritual tyranny, the transition was easy to attain other species of liberty. They learnt to trace the motives of human action, to demonstrate the influence of external causes upon the moral conduct of man, to investigate the powers and principles of man as a free agent, and as connected with society, and the powerful effect of government and laws upon the human character. Thus every thing conspired to forward the march of mind. The Dauphin of France, son of Louis XV., had wished for a reform in the society of Jesuits, rather than the extinction of it,

and he avowed the opinion that they were unjustly persecuted. Their subsequent intrigues in Spain, however, justified the policy of the measure. For the interesting and curious account of their extirpation from that country we must however, refer our readers to other histories. It is well worthy the attention of all those who love to mark the mutations of human events and human opinions. As a convincing proof of the declining power and influence of the Papacy we may remark, that at the instance of his Catholic majesty, the Jesuits were also expelled from Naples, and sent into the Papal territories. The Pope warmly remonstrated, but no regard was paid to his memorial. The Archduke Ferdinand as governor of the Milanese, gratified the people by the suppression of the inquisition. The Venetian state also concurred with the Duke of Parma and other Italian princes in restraining the Papal power; more especially the duke, who having requested Clement XIII. to abridge the exorbitant privileges of the clergy, was so terribly incensed at the pontiff's refusal, that he prohibited appeals to Rome, declared null and nugatory all bulls and brieves, and peremptorily ordered that all ecclesiastical dignities in his dominions should be enjoyed only by his own subjects. Clement, who was a strenuous advocate for the supremacy of the church, and a friend of course to the Jesuits, condemned by a brieve the orders of the duke, and declaring the clergy exempt from laic or temporal jurisdiction, threatened to excommunicate that prince and all his advisers or abettors. The duke, however, entirely disregarded this threat, he enforced his edict, and still further defied the Pope by expelling the Jesuits from the duchy, and dissolving the society. The kings of France and Spain also desired his Holiness to revoke his

brieve as militating against the rights of sovereigns. But these and other solicitations were unavailing with the pontiff. The Pope's perseverance in his spiritual warfare subjected him to many serious temporal effects. His mental uneasiness impaired his health, and he died 1769, while the great dispute yet subsisted on the extent of ecclesiastical power.

Such was the confused state of affairs, that the papal chair remained vacant above three months. French and Spanish interest, however, at length procured a majority of votes for Francis Laurence Ganganelli. He assumed the designation of Clement XIV. as Rezzonica, the deceased pontiff, had created him a cardinal. Moderate and liberal, he entered upon the discharge of his high functions with the desire and hope of conciliating the courts which were at variance with that of Rome, without derogating from the rights of the Holy See. He declared that he would not so far yield to the clamours against the Jesuits as to condemn them unheard, but would call a general council to decide the question as to the prudence and policy of continuing or suppressing the society. In his conduct towards the several princes, he evinced a dignified moderation, perfectly conciliating, but untinctured by servility or meanness.

In regard to the decision of the subject of the Jesuits, the French king desired a prompt decision, but Ganganelli delayed more than four years the determination of the question. Long and profound were his meditations upon a step so important, frequent his consultations with every intelligent individual he believed capable of assisting him in the scrutiny, the result of both seemed a disposition to yield to the wishes of the adversaries of the society. He caused a bull of dissolution to be prepared, he submitted it to the

inspection of the most learned and enlightened theologians; sent copies of it to most of the European princes, soliciting their advice for its improvement. When their answers arrived, still he hesitated; but at length the result of this protracted deliberation was, a resolution to put an end to a society which had excited general odium, alleging the decline of that utility which had once attended the existence of this numerous order, referring to the restless spirit of political intrigue which influenced the majority of its members, and lamenting the effects of their pernicious doctrines, he signed and promulgated the memorable edict of suppression. In consequence all the colleges and seminaries of the Jesuits were seized, and their revenues confiscated, pensions being allowed them to spare them from absolute poverty. The general of the order was required to sign circular letters, addressed to the missionaries and dispersed members of the society, intimating that it had been suppressed with the consent of all the Catholic princes, and that it was their duty to obey the bishops of the different dioceses in which they were then resident. *(See History of Clement XIV.)*

This measure reconciled the courts which had been hostile to the pope. The territories of the church were restored, but great discontent was excited among the high churchmen in Italy, and all other Catholic countries, by the suppression of an order peculiarly devoted to effect the exaltation of the papal power. From the known and general character of Clement XIV., liberal, free from bigotry, severity, pride, and arrogance, he could not a moment be suspected of a wish to exercise either temporal or spiritual tyranny; his edict appears to have been the sincere result of discriminative judgment, a firm conviction of

the justness of the measure, in order to effect and ensure temporal peace and spiritual good—not to arise from an oppressive spirit, anxious to gratify a thirst of power, but from a deep sense of the political expediency and moral duty of suppressing a pernicious society, or which had at least become so in the progress of time, and concurrence of events. This pontiff, who greatly owed his elevation to the recommendation of Louis XV., did not long survive that monarch. In the year 1775, a jubilee had been announced by Ganganelli, and it is worthy of remark, that it was a current prophecy, that he would not survive to officiate at the grand solemnity;—he did not. He certainly had cause of apprehension from the individuals of that order he had suppressed, and hence the supposition that his death was occasioned by poison, but there is no evidence to substantiate such a suspicion.

As it was naturally the wish of the cardinals to fill the vacant chair with a prelate more zealously devoted to the high claims of the church than was the deceased pontiff, a delay of nearly five months took place, before the choice could be final. At the expiration of that period, John Angelo Braschi, who had been introduced into public life by Benedict XIV., obtained the suffrages of the sacred college. This pontiff, both previous to his elevation and subsequent to it, rather steered between the zealous party and moderates, than attached himself conspicuously to either, but he found the management of both a difficult task. His conduct was vigilantly observed by both; he was alternately awed by each, and each accused him of duplicity.

While the spirit of reform, and the assertion of freedom of thought, spread over Europe with rapidity, the papacy was subjected to the inno-

vating career of a monarch, in whose dominions the *illuminati* had more especially propagated freedom of thinking. Joseph, Emperor of Germany, made various ordinances of religious reform, which startled the jealousy of the Roman see. Pius VI., however, though he saw the danger, had no power to avert it; he possessed not the requisite qualities to extend or secure the prerogatives of the holy see; he was rather the elegant courtier than the able statesman; his acts were neither judicious nor consistent, though he was not destitute of capacity and knowledge. The prohibition of applying to the court of Rome for dispensations, and other infringements on the rights of the papacy, made by the emperor, aroused the indignation of Pius, and impelled him to a personal vindication of his dignity. For this purpose he determined to visit the emperor; but he moved not the inflexibility of the monarch; the sole use of his journey was, having gladdened the populace with his frequent benedictions, while it made the emperor more determined in his reforms; he even presumed to style himself the "supreme guardian of the church, and administrator of its temporalities."

This pope was also involved in disputes with the courts of Berlin and Petersburgh, the result of which equally proved his declining power, and the diminution of reverence with which he was regarded. The courts of France and Rome had continued, with one only exception, upon amicable terms, from the death of Ganganelli, but when the revolution broke out, the very nature of that terrible explosion presaged a termination of this concord. The non-payment of first-fruits, and the vote which declared the church possessions to be national property, sufficiently indicated the spirit of the times, and was

sufficient to alarm and disgust the pope, while the arbitrary proceedings of the assembly, on the subject of his territories in France, aroused his indignation. It will be in the remembrance, doubtless, of our readers, that it was proposed those territories should be reannexed to the Gallic realm. The measure was convenient, therefore, in the true spirit of the time it was pronounced *just and lawful.* The distress and displeasure of the clergy on the seizure of their property, and the alterations made by the assembly in the disposal of benefices, and in spiritual discipline, drove thousands from their native land during this melancholy period, and when they nobly refused to take the constitutional oath required of them, whereby they were to renounce their *prejudices*, as they were termed, England and Ireland opened their arms widely to receive the unhappy refugees.

But Pius VI. was decreed to endure yet deeper humiliation from a power which had once been the most friendly to the papacy. In the year 1797, during the successes of the victorious armies of Bonaparte in Italy, he sought to crown his victories by the humiliation of the pontiff. His holiness had not fully executed the stipulations imposed on him by the arrogant foe, and his subjects had been stimulated by the priests to resist their encroachments. These were aggressions quite sufficient for those predisposed to hostility. Regardless of the saints who were invoked for the support of the Catholic church, of the holy images exhibited, or of miracles said to be wrought, the French troops were put in motion to invade the ecclesiastical states. Resistance was vain; all objections to unreasonable terms were overruled by menaces, and a treaty was signed between the contending powers. This

treaty was an act of flagitious violence and shameless rapacity; it was but the beginning of the insults the pontiff was to endure. An affray, instigated by the revolutionists at Rome, was made a pretence for further hostility. His holiness, in consistence with his profession, doubtless, but careless as contending for temporalities, trusted more to his spiritual arms than those who were able to defend his country. He ordered three of the most sacred relics of the Catholic establishment to be carried in procession to St. Peter's, and there exhibited on the altar for eight days, that the people might venerate them with devout zeal, and implore the divine assistance amidst the solemnities of the Romish ritual, and the effusions of contrite hearts. "These are our arms," (said the pontiff,) "holy and pacific arms, because they inflict not death, but tend to procure eternal life for every one who will make a proper use of them, and not infrequently, even in this world, enable pious Christians to withstand violence and oppression." (*Duppa's Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government.*)

Willing, however, to try the effect of negociation, the pope took measures to treat with the French general, whose approach was so much dreaded. The general gave fair promises. In the meanwhile Pius issued a proclamation, desiring the people not to give the least cause of offence to the French, who had disclaimed hostile intentions. The republican host advanced, procured an immediate surrender of the castle of Angelo, took possession of all the gates of the city, detained some cardinals and nobles as hostages for the peaceable behaviour of the people, for the grant of pecuniary aid, and general relief to the troops. Regardless of his promise, the French general prepared to abolish the papal

government, which he did on the Capitoline hill. The unfortunate Pius was celebrating the anniversary of his election to the pontifical dignity, when two officers entered the chapel in which he was enthroned—they announced the termination of his power! His own guards were dismissed, and he was placed under the protection of republican soldiers. The cardinals were deprived of their authority and possessions, and were actually obliged to join in the *Te Deum laudamus*, for the change by which they were degraded and ruined!

The pope did not long remain to witness the tyranny of the invaders, and his country degraded; he was in the first instance escorted to Sienna, whence he was removed to a monastery near Florence. After enduring a variety of suffering and degradation, he died a prisoner of the French.

Rome and its dependencies were subsequently recovered by the co-operation of the English and Austrians, with the troops of his Neapolitan majesty. The Cardinal di Chiaramonte was chosen at Venice to succeed Pius VI., and assumed the pontifical name of his ill-fated predecessor.

We have thus brought our general review up to the close of the eighteenth century, and to the apparent demolition of the papal power. It belongs to the historian of the age now in progress to describe its partial revival, to prognosticate a renewal of its power. We have taken for our study the past; "the perfect story of man cannot be told while it is proceeding;" the picture is too confused, and its colours too dazzling to allow us to select the figures with judgment, or to pronounce with accuracy upon its merits and demerits. We have dwelt the longer upon the decline of the papal power, because we feel the conviction that it is intimately blended with the

subject of our work, the national fluctuations of Ireland. Though the events referring to the Roman see, which we have related, seem to have no connexion with, nor form any distinct feature of historic record in Ireland, yet there cannot exist a doubt in the mind of any one who has the smallest knowledge of the ecclesiastical polity of the Catholics, or of the principles which distinguish their religion, that there is a responsive pulse of feeling subsisting between every member, however remote, of the Catholic body, and the head; that as it droops, or is elevated, so are the members vigorous or enervated, depressed or elated. From this strong sympathy, we may trace the springs which have actuated the Irish Catholics on many occasions, and doubtless may still continue to do so.

The study of history would be but the indulgence of a vain curiosity, did it not serve to guide our policy for the future. That ever any reconciliation can take place between the Catholic and Protestant communions, seems perfectly visionary, although it has by many been fondly thought practicable. The precluding causes are too obvious to need illustration. We have it in our power, however, to prevent the growth, and to limit in some degree the extent of error among our Irish fellow subjects; we must convey the stream of knowledge to the remotest recesses of the land; we must gently loosen the fetters that enchain the human mind; we must open wide to them that sacred volume that points out to them their religious duties, and their high destiny; which in its divine precepts commends the poor and the weak to the protection of the opulent and the powerful; that gospel, which, universal in its views, turns its attention from the contrarieties of interests which divide mankind, and

considers all as forming one great society, united by the same origin, and tending to the same end. Taking man in the most simple, the most elevating and honourable of his relations, viz., that which is derived from his intercourse with the Supreme Being, every hostile division of kingdom against kingdom, sect against sect, at once disappears from the grand scheme of benevolence. The heart of man is formed to enter into this grand scheme, and it is the glory of individuals and of nations to act upon it. Let us then allow for deep-seated prejudices, wherever they meet our view; more especially, let us endeavour to make our Irish fellow-subjects feel, that we earnestly desire to contribute to their temporal and eternal good; let us treat them universally as equals, subject to the same passions, alive to the same sensibilities, and heirs of the same hopes as ourselves; and let us throw the veil of candour and indulgence over their waywardness, while we unceasingly, perseveringly, and tenderly, use the means so amply in our power, to render them an enlightened, well educated people. Then may we hope, and not reasonably till then can we hope to see them contented, happy, and prosperous. Every patriot heart will exert its highest energies to expedite the arrival of that auspicious era, when Hibernia shall be free indeed!

Her own elegant and sagacious Burke has observed, (speaking of liberty,) "I certainly think, that all men who desire it, deserve it; it is not the reward of our merit, or the acquisition of our industry, it is our inheritance, it is the birthright of our species; we cannot forfeit our right to it, but by what forfeits our title to the privileges of our kind, I mean the *abuse* or *oblivion* of our *rational* faculties, and a ferocious indocility, which makes us prompt to wrong and

violence, destroys our social nature, and transforms us into something little better than a description of wild beasts. To men so degraded, a state of strong restraint is a sort of necessary substitute for freedom, since bad as it is, it may deliver them in some measure from the worst of all slavery, that is, the despotism of their own blind and ungoverned passions. The freedom that I love is not solitary, unconnected, individual, selfish liberty, it is social freedom, in which the liberty of no man, and no body of men, is in a condition to trespass on the liberty of any person, or any description of persons in society."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

EARL OF ESSEX.

The death of Essex was suspected by many to have been in consequence of poison, though it would appear to be naturally accounted for from the anxiety of his mind and the physical hardships of his military situation. Among the Lansdowne MSS. is a letter to Lord Burghley from Nicholas White giving an account of the last sickness and death of Essex. It by no means justifies the suspicion of poison.

" My dear good lord,

" I receaved by my nephewe your lordship's loving letters all written with your awne hande, which were more comfortable to me than I can express. I finde in themme a rule to direct me and a piller whereon to stay me, besydes a confirmation of your accustomed favour towards me whom yourself hathe lifted uppe from stumbling downe whereof I and my posteritie shall alwaies cary a loving memory. I will not presume to prohibite your honor to write any thing to the governor which youe shall thinke good for me, but I suppose he hathe made choise of such as he thinks fittest to be acquaynted with his plott and therefore using me but as *tanquam vocatus* am to require no more, but his indifferency, and favourable acceptation of my best advise in the service of my prince and countrie.

Oh my good lord, here I must among others advertyse your lordship of the dolefull departure of Th' Erle of Essex who ended this life to begyn a better the xxijnd of Septembér, in the Castell of Dublin, and felt his syckness first at Talaghe, th' archebisshope of Dublin's house, in his journey towards Baltinglass to meet th' Erle of Ormonde accompanyed with the chancelour, the last of August. I was moche abowte him in the later ende of his syckness and behelt such trew tokyns of nobilitie, conjoyned with a most godly and vertuos mynde to the yelding upp of his breath, as is rare to be seue. Two daies before he died

he had speche with me of your lordship and sayd he thought he was borne to do you and yours good. But nowe sayd he I must comytt the oversight of my son and all to him. He likewise spoke lovingly of my Lord of Sussex with many other thyngs which for prolixitie and otherwise I omytt to write. He doubted that he had bene poysoned by reason of the violent evacuation which he had, and of that suspicion acquitted this lande saying no not Tirrelagh Lurnaghe himselfe wold do no villainy to his person. But upon the openyng of him which I could not abyde the chancelour told me that all his inwarde parts were sounde saving that his hart was somewhat consumed and the blader of his gall empty. Suche as toke upon theme to be his phisicians as Chaloner, Knell a preacher, and the deputie's phisician called Dr. Trever applied him with many glisters, and thereby filled his body full of winde which was perceyved, so as either their ignorance or some violent cause beyond their skill ended his life.... His fleshe and complexion did not decay, his memory and speche was so perfitt that at the last yelding up of his breathe he cryed 'cowradge, cowradge, I am a soylder that must fight under the banor of my Savior Christe,' and as he prayed alwaise to be dissolved, so was he loth to dye in his bed, which made me remember your Lordship's tale of your father. Emong others he had the care of my seconde son which is all this while brought upp with the yonge Erle his son without any chardge to me because his mother was a Lennox. And required Mr. Waterhouse to move your honor that he might stille attend on his son and be brought upp with him, wherein I refer his case to your accustomed goodness. His lordship comytted to my keping the patents of his creation and comntreyes here and made me one of his feoffees of truste. I hope with the deputies favour to turn those landes to a reasonable yere commoditie to his son. I do send your lordship here inclosed the names of suche of the erles servaunts as were abowte him in the tyme of his syckness and served him most painfully and dilligently, for with respect I thinke them worthy the favour of all men. It is doubted what ende the deputies will make of this great sturr in Conaght.

"From St. Kathrins besyds Dublin, this last of September 1576.

"Yor honors moste bounden during life,

"N. WHITE.

"To the right honnorable my singular good L. my L. Burghley Lord Treasurer of Englande."

(See Ellis' Original Letters, vol. ii. p. 280.)

CHARLES I. AND THE EARL OF GLAMORGAN.

In the Harleian MSS. there is a letter entirely in the king's own writing addressed to the Earl of Glamorgan. It is dated Hereford 23d June, 1645 (soon after the battle of Naseby,) and is as follows:—

"Glamorgan,

"I am glad to hear that you are gone to Ireland and assure you that as myselfe is nowais disheartened by our late misfortune so nether this country, for I could not have expected more from them than they have now freely undertaken, though I come not hither absolute victorious which makes me hope well of the neighbouring shores, so that (by the grace of God) I hope shortly to recover my late losse with advantage, if such succours come to me from that kingdom which I have reason to expect, but the circumstance of tyme is that of the greatest consequence being that which now is chiefliest and earnestliest recommended to you by your most assurred, reall

"Constant friend

"CHARLES R."

(See Ellis' Original Letters, vol. iii.)

This letter pleads in excuse of the impatience of the ardent Glamorgan, and accounts for the facility with which he entered into the intrigues of the nuncio in the expectation that they would expedite the succours so urgently desired by his royal master.

DUBLIN LIBRARY.

In a letter of N. Marsh, D.D. to Thomas Smith, DD., dated 4th May, 1700, contained in the Bodleian Library, and given in Aubrey's Selection, we have the following account of the founding a library at Dublin. He is writing to Dr. Smith on various familiar subjects, and thanks him for having procured him some choice books. He then adds, "And now, sir, that you may know the better what sort of books will best fit for me, I must declare to you a secret, which is this; that by the blessing of God I do design to leave all mine Oriental MSS. to the Bodleian Library when I die, and for the rest of my books I hope to dispose of them thus:—The archbishop's house at Dublin, called St. Sepulchre's, though it may well be called a palace, for the stateliness of all the public rooms of reception, yet hath no chapel nor library belonging to it, nor indeed any convenient

room to hold an ordinary study of books. This consideration hath made me resolve to build both a chapel and a library, which had been done by this time, if the title to the ground on which I am to build could have been cleared, which I hope will soon be done. The chapel is designed for the use of the archbishop's family, the library for a public use; which will be of great use here, where is no public library, (that of the college being open only to the provost and fellows,) and where the booksellers shops are furnished with nothing but new trifles; so that neither the divines of the city, nor those that come to it about business, do know whither to go to spend an hour or two upon any occasion of study. In this library, if God will enable me to go through with the work, in order to the building whereof I have laid by 800*l.* (which is money that became due to me from the king whilst I was concerned in the government last summer,) in this library, I say, my intentions are to lodge all my printed books when I die. Sir, the design reacheth yet a little further, I have now 600*l.* worth of books lying ready in Dublin to be put into the library as soon as it shall be built, which is the study of a learned gentleman that will give them freely, provided the king will settle upon him 200*l.* per annum out of the first fruits of the kingdom, as a salary for being library-keeper, (which he will attend,) until I or my successor can bestow upon him the chancellorship or treasurership of St. Patrick's in Dublin, (on which are no cures,) to be appropriated to that use for ever. The gentleman is Mr. Bouhereau, who published *Origen contra Celsum*, in French, with learned notes, in Holland. He is a man as well qualified to be a library-keeper as any I do know, being well skilled in critical learning, and one of great correspondence. The matter hath been before the king some time, and now that the troubles of the parliament are over, I hope we shall have a gracious answer speedily; my Lord Galway being deeply concerned in it, because Mr. Bouhereau is his secretary, and hath been so for many years. I have near 200*l.* worth of books by me, that I would put into the library presently, were it built, and the rest when I die; and I hope, if my Lord Galway might continue in the government a little longer, to find a way by a removal to get one of the formentioned dignities for a library-keeper, without being charge able to his majesty for any thing out of the first fruits. Rev. Sir, I have now opened my heart to you, and told you what are my sincere designs for God's glory; whereupon I have two things to beg of you, first that you will offer up your daily prayers to God for me, that he will enable me to go through with this great work, or else that he will direct me to do something else in lieu of it, that may make more for his honour and glory. Secondly, that you will, from time to time, give me

your advice what books come out that are fit for a public library. I desire your advice before you order them for me, lest I should have them by me before, as I have the new edition of *Sirmondus Works*, *Basnagius Ecclesiastical History*, *the Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*, in 27 volumes folio, and several others lately from France. Sir, I tire you with this long letter, but I am sure you will pardon me when you have read it; pray for me daily, as I do for you.

"Being sincerely, Rev. Sir,
"Your affectionate brother and humble servant,
NARCISSUS.*

* This excellent divine and amiable man was born at Honnington, Wilts, December 20th, 1638, of an ancient and respectable family. He received his first education in his native place, and in 1654 was placed at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He took his B.A. degree in 1657, and in 1658 was elected fellow of Exeter College, where he proceeded in his degrees, taking that of D.D. June 23d, 1671, at which time he was appointed principal of St. Alban's Hall by the Duke of Ormond, then chancellor of the university. The duties of this office he executed with so much zeal and judgment, that according to Wood "he made it flourish more than it had done many years before, or hath since his departure." By the interest of Dr. Fell, and at the request of the Duke of Ormond, Charles the Second nominated him to succeed Dr. Ward, in the provostship of Dublin College, and in January, 1679, he was sworn in. He was then admitted doctor of divinity, and in 1683 raised to the sees of Leighlin and Ferns; hence he was translated, in 1690, to the archbishopric of Cashell, to Dublin in 1694, and in 1703 to that of Armagh. After having lived with honour and reputation to himself and benefit to mankind in general, he died November 2d, 1713, at the advanced age of 75, and was interred in a vault in the church-yard of St. Patrick's, Dublin. This excellent prelate seems to have expended the greater part of his life and income in acts of benevolence and utility; he not only founded the library mentioned in the letter, which he filled with the books of Dr. Stillingfleet, as well as his own collection, but he endowed an hospital at Drogheda for poor widows, greatly encouraged the propagation of the gospel, repaired many decayed churches in his diocese at his own expense, and extended his bounty to other works of munificence and charity. His character, perhaps, is in no place better delineated than in the letter we have in part quoted; but the epitaph placed on the monument erected to his memory, in St. Patrick's church, cannot but confirm the good opinion which must be formed of his real virtue, unaffected piety, and ardent charity.—*(See Aubrey's Selection.)*

THE END.

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